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ABSTRACT

This report presents an overview and analysis of national policies for internationalization in higher education in Europe over the last 10 years. The study examined six major issues: (1) fundamental political ideas and commitments underpinning national policies; (2) priorities for national policies and motives for their setting; (3) procedures used in the development of national policies; (4) policy implementation; (5) changes in national higher education systems as a result of the internationalization process; and (6) assessment of how national policy affects or is affected by international/multilateral initiatives. The first chapter, titled "Missing Links: The Relationship between National Policies for Internationalisation and Those for Higher Education in General," and the penultimate chapter, "International Comparative Analysis and Synthesis", both by Marijk van der Wende, identify trends and compare the national policies reviewed. The intervening nine chapters review the policies of the following nations or areas: Austria, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Greece, the Netherlands, Sweden, United Kingdom, and Central and Eastern Europe and Russia. The final chapter summarizes the main findings of this study, noting the growing importance of economic motives for internationalization policies, the diminishing conceptual disconnection between internationalization policies and general higher education policy, and the enhanced influence of institutional and market forces. (Individual chapters contain references.) (DB)

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National Policies for the Internationalisation of Higher Education in Europe

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National Policies for the Internationalisation of Higher Education in Europe

National Agency for Higher Education 1997

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Table of Contents

Introduction 7
Objectives 7

Missing Links – *The Relationship between National Policies for Internationalisation and those for Higher Education in General* **10**
Introduction 10
In search of the term "internationalisation" 10
The role of internationalisation in higher education policy 14
Academic cooperation, mobility and exchange 16
A comprehensive definition of internationalisation 17
The disconnection between internationalisation and higher education policy 20
Conceptual disconnection 21
Political and practical disconnection 23
The growing importance of internationalisation in higher education policy 27
Conclusions so far 30
Towards a new approach for the study of higher education policy in an international context 31
Conceptual framework and objectives for the study on national policies for the internationalisation of higher education 34
Issues for further research 37
References 38

Austria **42**
Fundamental political ideas and commitments underpinning the Austrian national policy1 42
National Policy for the Internationalisation of Higher Education 45
Procedure of Establishing Policy 51
Implementation of Policy 52
Major Changes in the Higher Education and Research Systems 54
The impact of internationalisation on policy 57

Denmark **59**
General outline of the Danish national policy for internationalisation of higher education 59
Rationales of Denmark's internationalisation policy 62
Priorities in national policy 64

Policy development, its implementation, and the interaction between national policy and international initiatives ____ 67
Barriers to the internationalisation of higher education ____ 70
Effects on the higher education system ____ 71
Summary and look ahead ____ 71

Finland ____ **73**
The cornerstones of Finnish education policy ____ 73
General outline of the national policy for internationalisation of higher education ____ 74
Rationales of Finnish higher education's internationalisation policy ____ 75
Priorities in the national policy ____ 76
Policy development ____ 79
Policy implementation ____ 81
Effects of internationalisation on the higher education system ____ 84
Some results of the internationalisation policy ____ 87
Conclusions ____ 88
References ____ 89

Germany ____ **91**
Introduction ____ 91
Principles of internationalisation policy ____ 93
Priorities of national policy ____ 98
Structure of subject areas and disciplines ____ 107
Policy of internationalisation: procedures and actors ____ 118
Implementation of internationalisation policies ____ 125
Impacts of internationalisation processes on the higher education system ____ 136
Reciprocal influences of national and international policies ____ 145
References ____ 149

Greece ____ **153**
Fundamental ideas ____ 153
National policy ____ 154
Procedure to establish the policy ____ 154
Consultation ____ 154
Implementation ____ 155
Changes in the system ____ 158
Interaction between multilateral and national initiatives ____ 158

The Netherlands ____ **159**
General outline of the national policy for internationalisation of higher education ____ 159
Rationales of the country's internationalisation policy ____ 159

Priorities of the national policy ____ 162
Policy development ____ 164
The actors ____ 164
Policy implementation ____ 168
Effects on the higher education system ____ 169
Interaction between multilateral and national initiatives ____ 171
References ____ 173

Sweden ____ 174
General background and fundamental ideas ____ 174
Rationales of the internationalisation policy ____ 177
Description of the national policy ____ 178
Political priorities ____ 181
Policy development and implementation ____ 182
Effects on the higher education system ____ 187
Interaction between national policies and international initiatives ____ 188

United Kingdom ____ 189
General outline ____ 189
The rationale of the UK's internationalisation policy for higher education ____ 189
Policy development ____ 192
Policy implementation ____ 197
Conclusion ____ 200
References ____ 201

Central and Eastern Europe and Russia ____ 202
Introduction ____ 202
Specific elements of the Central and East European context ____ 204
Internationalisation ____ 204
Findings ____ 213
References ____ 221

International comparative analysis and synthesis ____ 225
Introduction ____ 225
Rationales for the countries' internationalisation policies ____ 226
Priorities in the policies for internationalisation of higher education ____ 232
The development of national policies ____ 240
Implementation of national policies ____ 244
Effects on the higher education system ____ 251

Conclusions and Discussion ____ 259
Conclusions ____ 259
Discussion ____ 266

Introduction

Torsten Kälvemark, Swedish National Agency for Higher Education
Coordinator of the ACA Western European Working Group

The Academic Cooperation Association (ACA) is an independent European organisation dedicated to the support, improvement, management and analysis of academic cooperation within Europe and between Europe and other parts of the world. It was created in July 1993 with the legal status of a non-profit-making international association according to Belgian law and a secretariat in Brussels. The members of ACA are major agencies located in European Union and EFTA countries responsible for the promotion of international academic cooperation.

ACA works through a number of working groups, some of them focusing on academic cooperation within certain geographic areas or between regions. One of these groups is dealing with developments in Western Europe.

At the Western European Working Group meeting in Vienna on 12 February 1996, members decided to launch a project aimed at the investigation into the different policies at national level with regard to the internationalisation of higher education in some European countries.

This idea had come up within the context of the SOCRATES institutional contract applications which had to be submitted by 1 July 1996. For the first time European universities and other institutions of higher education were asked by the Commission to formulate their own international policies. To put these institutional policies into a broader national context, the working group felt the need to investigate what the policies for the internationalisation of higher education were like in their own countries.

Objectives

The general objectives for this study are to give an overview of national policies (where they exist) for internationalisation in higher education in Europe over the last ten years until the year 2000, to analyse these policies and to show their impact on national systems.

The specific objectives of the study were defined as follows:

1. to describe the fundamental political ideas and commitments underpinning national policies
2. to identify the priorities and explain the motives for setting these priorities
3. to study the procedure applied for the establishment of national policies, name the actors involved and show how they interact
4. to study the implementation of national policies
5. to give an overview of major changes in national higher education systems as a result of internationalisation
6. to assess how national policy affects or is affected by international/ multilateral initiatives

Within this general framework the following issues were to be studied:

1. fundamental political ideas and commitments underpinning national policies

2 priorities for national policies and motives for setting these priorities:
   - target countries and trans-national regions
   - national target institutions and target levels (e.g. universities, university institutes)
   - national target groups (e.g. students, teachers, other)
   - target fields, subject areas of cooperation (e.g. humanities, computer science)

3. procedure applied for the establishment of national policies
   - actors (e.g. national bodies like ministries, regional bodies, target institutions, target groups, employers, agencies for academic cooperation)
   - interaction of actors:
     – structure for interaction (e.g. boards, commissions)
     – frequency of interaction
   - decision-making processes

4. implementation of national policies
   - relationship between budgets and priorities identified

- cooperation activities (e.g. student mobility, teacher mobility, curriculum development, intensive programmes, international (fee-paying) student recruitment)
- infrastructure made available for implementation (agencies for academic cooperation, programme units, international relations offices, accommodation offices, etc.)
- other implementation mechanisms resulting from the policy (e.g. programmes such as the Dutch regional mobility programme, the Ceepus and Nordplus programmes)

5. major changes in national higher education systems as a result of the internationalisation process (e.g. introduction of academic credit recognition systems, changes in fee policy, nationality criteria for grant/fee payment eligibility, teaching of (lesser-used) languages, use of non-national languages as medium of instruction, international curricula, open and distance learning, transferability of student grants)

6. assessment of how national policy affects or is affected by international/multilateral initiatives

The Swedish National Agency for Higher Education (HsV) offered to coordinate the study and also to provide some funding. Additional funding was received from the Swedish Foundation for International Cooperation in Research and Education. This enabled the group to ask Marijk van der Wende from Nuffic in the Netherlands to devote time and efforts to write a conceptual chapter and to give a comparative analysis of the national policies presented in the contributions from the countries concerned. It was also possible to commission a survey of current policies in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, a region where the internationalisation of higher education has only recently been put on the agenda. This survey was written by Liduine Bremer from Nuffic.

ACA and its member organisation are happy to be able to present this book as a contribution to the ongoing debate on ways and means to enhance the international dimensions of higher education. Even if the subject of this study is confined to European countries we feel sure that the issues discussed here are very high on the agenda also in other countries on other continents.

Missing Links

The Relationship between National Policies for Internationalisation and those for Higher Education in General

Marijk van der Wende

Introduction

It is increasingly argued that internationalisation should be considered as an integral part of higher education planning, implementation and evaluation. Consequently, national policies for internationalisation of higher education should be considered in the wider framework of national policy making on higher education. A bibliographical search, however, reveals that in the literature on higher education policy, little or no reference is made to internationalisation as an area of governmental policy making on higher education. In encyclopedia and handbooks, the sections on higher education policy and governance generally discuss issues such as autonomy and academic freedom, financing, access and enrolment, accountability and quality, relationship with the labour market, higher education reform, etc. However, the term "internationalisation" is not often found in these chapters.

In search of the term "internationalisation"

The encyclopedia of higher education (Clark & Neave, 1992), for instance, presents, in addition to the description of higher education systems in many countries, under "analytical perspectives" one chapter on international student mobility and one on international equivalence of degrees. The term "internationalisation" appears in a chapter on social sciences, but not in the section on government.

In "International Higher Education: an Encyclopedia" (Altbach, 1991) we discover a comparable situation. Various issues in higher education are discussed as well as country specific information on higher education in a large number of countries. Again one chapter is dedicated to foreign students (Cummings, 1991), describing the world's most important student flows, with information on home and host countries and level and field of study. The chapters on the countries of interest in this study do not address the

internationalisation of higher education either. Notwithstanding the fact that the word "internationalisation" can not be found in the index, there is a section on internationalisation of higher education in the chapter on Western Europe, where Teichler (1991) describes the growing involvement of national and international agencies in stimulating student mobility and transnational recognition of studies and degrees.

It is in an encyclopedia which does not exclusively concentrate on higher education, that, besides a chapter on study abroad, a quite comprehensive article on internationalisation of education can be found. In the "International Encyclopedia of Education" (Husén & Postlethwaite, 1985), Husén (1985) describes international education as a scholarly pursuit (*cf* comparative education), but also in terms *of "all educative efforts that aim at fostering an international orientation in knowledge and attitudes"* (p. 2660). He presents a broad overview of objectives and means of implementation. Student and faculty exchanges, internationalisation of curricula and textbooks, research, development assistance, foreign language learning and the impact of the international labour market and mass media are all discussed. He underlines the role of intergovernmental organisations in developing these educational functions. As for national governments, he refers at several points to the role of the Swedish Commission on Internationalisation of Higher Education, which already in the early 1970s formulated general goals for internationalisation of education from the level of kindergarten up to the level of the university. The goals stated were:

- Awareness of global interdependence and the importance of international understanding.
- The building up of international solidarity as expressed in the efforts and resources devoted to financial and other assistance to developing countries.
- Acceptance of the Western pluralistic value orientation and tolerance towards ambiguity.

More specific aims were:

- Employability on the international labour market, including international, intergovernmental organisations.
- Orientation towards the future.
- Specific skills and knowledge necessary in order to function in an international context, such as language skills, knowledge about other cultures, and so on.

He also points to the special interest that the Swedish Commission on Internationalisation took in technical and professional language learning, recommending that language study could be integrated with studies in the particular discipline ("integrated skills language training"), an example that has been followed in many countries where the mother tongue is spoken by a rather small population and where the mastery of one of the main foreign languages is thus crucial for employability on the international labour market.

Husén's statement on international education is continued in the supplementary volume of the encyclopedia (1989) in an article on "Global Learning". Global learning is described as *"a teaching-learning strategy according to which students learn about global problems and acquire their knowledge in an integrative way"* (p. 384). This form of learning requires not only a global, but also a multi-disciplinary approach. In this article, no reference is made to the role of national governments or to the role of policy.

In the same volume, a chapter is dedicated to the role of the European Commission in educational programmes (Opper & Teichler, 1989); which describes the early days of the European mobility programmes. This is continued in Supplementary Volume II, with another chapter on the role of the EC (Sellin, 1990), focusing more specifically on the comparability and recognition of studies and degrees.

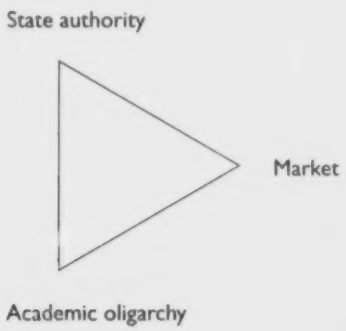
Looking at the specialised literature on higher education policy, we find that, although an international comparative approach in the description and analysis of national higher education systems and policies is quite popular, the issue of internationalisation as a domain or context of higher education policy making is not really addressed.

In "Prometheus Bound: The Changing Relationship Between Government and Higher Education in Western Europe" (Neave & Van Vught, 1991), the international dimension of higher education policy making is described in some chapters (on France, Australia and the USA) as the influence of international (economic) competition and of the creation of the single European Market on higher education planning. This refers in particular to decisions regarding the percentage of the relevant age group enrolled in higher education and on the contribution of higher education to the nation's scientific knowledge, technological development and marketing skills. In

the chapter on Italy, the European integration process is expected to work in favour of a realignment of higher education structures and degrees. There is no further mention, however, of internationalisation as an aspect of the governments' policy for higher education.

In "Higher Education Policy: An International Comparative Perspective" (Goedegebuure, *et al*, 1994), higher education policy is also discussed from an international comparative perspective, concentrating in particular on regulation and control, autonomy and academic freedom, federalism and the role of intermediary bodies. As to analysing the issues of regulation, steering and control of higher education, the authors build up the notion that the coordination mechanisms that operate within higher education systems are the result of the interplay of various forces, interests or actors. The typology developed by Clark (1983) is taken as a point of departure. Clark distinguishes between state authority, market and academic oligarchy as the forces that determine, through their interaction, the way in which a higher education system is coordinated. In the triangle of coordination (see figure 1), each corner of the model represents the extreme of one form of coordination and a minimum of the other two. The model is used in the country studies to describe the role and influence of the various forces and actors in the coordination of higher education, and in some cases to locate the country's higher education in the triangle.

Figure 1. Triangle of coordination in higher education (Clark, 1983)



Neither in the introductory chapter, nor in the summary of the book, is internationalisation referred to as an issue in higher education policy

making. However, in two of the country reports, the authors touch on it. In the chapter on Higher Education Policy in Sweden (Svanfeldt, 1994), the internationalisation of higher education, involving a growing movement of students and educated people between different countries, is mentioned as an emerging problem of coordination. The article on Switzerland (Weber, 1994) provides the book's sole example of internationalisation being part of wider higher education policy. Both the Swiss Science Council and the University Conference refer to *"Opening toward Europe"* and *to "the enhancement of teaching and research efforts in the positioning of Switzerland in Europe and the world"* as one of the major goals for higher education in the period between 1989-1995 (p.278).

In "Comparative Policy Studies in Higher Education" (Goedegebuure & van Vught eds., 1994), a number of issues of higher education policy are again discussed in an international comparative perspective. Attention is paid to, amongst others, topics such as governmental steering, costs, quality assurance and curriculum innovations. Also here, Clark's triangle (see above) is used as a basis for description and analysis. The model is adapted by categorising the interactive actors of a higher education system as: the government, society and the internal actors, thus distinguishing between internal and external actors influencing the higher education system. Both type of actors seem, however, to be limited in their actions to the national context, as nowhere the process of internationalisation of higher education or the international environment as the wider context in which a higher education system operates is really addressed.

The role of internationalisation in higher education policy

On the basis of our bibliographical search so far, it seems that we have to conclude that internationalisation plays only a minor role in governmental policies for higher education. In search of an answer to the question why this would be the case, we can formulate the following assumptions. Internationalisation is an aspect of higher education policy that is completely marginal and insignificant, or that it is only very recent (and therefore not addressed in the above mentioned sources), or that it is probably perceived and dealt with in a different way and in another context than that of (mainstream) higher education policy making.

Teichler (1996) lists the main issues in higher education policy over the last few decades as follows:

- early 1960s: the relationship between educational investment and economic growth;
- and late 1960s: expansion, institutional diversification and equality of opportunity;
- late 1960s/early 1970s: student-centred approaches in curricula and teaching methods;
- from the mid 1970s-early 1980s: employment problems of graduates / relationship with labour market;
- since the mid-1980s: governance and management of higher education, combined with evaluation and quality control.

Then he continues to say that: *"We are in a stage of reorientation of major issues, and we are not yet certain about the next major focus of higher education policy as well as higher education research. I tend to predict that we might consider internationalisation of higher education as the next theme which gives rise to a new focus of both higher education policy and higher education research"* (p. 435).

This quote seems to support the suggestion that internationalisation is a very recent, or in some cases even still prospective aspect of higher education policy. At the same time, however, we know that many western-European governments have undertaken activities in the field of international cooperation and exchange in higher education ever since the second world war, even more from the period of decolonialisation on and very intensively and with a new focus since the European integration process introduced the various European cooperation and mobility programmes. Thus the lack of reference to internationalisation as an area of higher education policy making must also have other reasons.

An important reason seems to be related to the definition, conceptualisation and perception of the term "internationalisation". As was shown in the bibliographical search, in general literature on higher education, internationalisation is usually referred to in terms of international cooperation, mobility and exchange (with related issues such as recognition), or in terms of supra-national, policies and programmes for stimulating such cooperation and exchange (e.g. the EC programmes).

It is extremely important to note that if one accepts to narrowing down the concept of internationalisation to that of academic mobility and cooperation, then an extensive and very specific bibliography turns out to be available.

Academic cooperation, mobility and exchange

In "Academic Mobility in a Changing World" (Blumenthal, *et al*, 1996), Albert Over presents a most comprehensive bibliography on academic mobility, providing an excellent overview of this literature (including references to other bibliographies). A major part of the bibliography concentrates on the mobile persons (students and staff, their numbers, home and host country, background, level and discipline, etc.), the impact and effects of mobility, the programmes for and administration of academic mobility, and matters of equivalence and recognition. In this bibliography, "policy" refers mainly to European policy and programmes for inter-university cooperation, mobility and exchange. Furthermore, issues on institutional policies can be found. As for national policy, this seems to concern almost exclusively foreign student policies and related questions of costs and (economic) benefits.

In the book itself, which consists of a collection of essays on academic mobility in the context of regionalisation, we find a paragraph on mobility and internationalisation, which may help to clarify the relationship between the two concepts. Baumgratz (1996) describes mobility both as a means *"to produce certain intellectual and attitudinal effects on individuals"* and, from a political standpoint, especially in the EC, as *"a means of inducing institutional change"*; the internationalisation of higher education institutions. She continues to say that in this way, the aim of achieving the mobility of 10% of the EC student population was considered by some to be the "critical mass", necessary to bring about the internationalisation of higher education institutions and a concomitant change in national policies (p. 105).

From a further investigation of this important source, we can conclude two things. First, that the bibliography as well as the book itself are rather concerned with mobility than with the wider concept of internationalisation as a form of institutional change. And second, that in general, little reference is made to the relationship between mobility and internationalisation and wider higher education policy in the various countries described or to the common theoretical concepts and notions on higher education policy, as described in the sources mentioned above.

Two questions now present themselves and should first be answered:

1. How broad a definition of internationalisation do we want to adopt in the context of this study?
2. Why does there exist such a disconnection and lack of reference between the bibliography on academic mobility and internationalisation on the one hand and on higher education policy on the other?

A comprehensive definition of internationalisation

With regard to the first question, it can be argued that it is increasingly accepted by various actors and confirmed by both practice and debate that at present internationalisation refers to more than just the exchange of students and scholars. As is witnessed by more than a decade's work on internationalisation of higher education by the Centre for International Research and Innovation (CERI) of the OECD, the initial explicit focus on the physical mobility of students has shifted to issues related to the economic and institutional impact of internationalisation in higher education. From the late 1980s on, foreign students were increasingly viewed as a new opportunity for change within higher education ("*Foreign students: a leading edge for change*"), and specifically for fundamental reform in educational quality (Ebuchi, 1989). In the early 1990s, the analysis of internationalisation was further extended to the more complex issues of internationalisation for all faculty and students through curriculum development and other institutional adaptations. By establishing collaboration with the Programme for Institutional Management in Higher Education (IMHE), work was started on the institutional strategies for internationalisation and on the relationship between internationalisation and quality enhancement and assurance (Windham, 1996).

These projects have resulted in international comparative research, which has provided an insight into the strong increase in the development of internationalised curricula in the various fields of study (Van der Wende, 1996) and into the broad range of institutional strategies, established to support institution-wide internationalisation (Knight & de Wit, 1995). Both studies demonstrate the increasingly comprehensive character of internationalisation efforts at the level of higher education institutions, linking educational, research and service-related activities with the aim of making the institutions responsive to their international environment and related requirements and challenges.

The design of certain programmes for academic cooperation and exchange increasingly reflects a broader approach to internationalisation as well. For instance, the SOCRATES programme which requires that institutions present all their European cooperation and exchange actions in an coherent way and integrate them into their wider institutional policies and strategies. The Dutch stimulation programme for internationalisation of higher education (STIR) also reflected such a requirement.

Hence, and in line with the above we will prefer to take a comprehensive approach towards internationalisation and we will not accept narrowing any question on national policies for internationalisation down to issues like: how many students are sent and/or received by the country, to or from which other countries, for how long and at what costs?

Furthermore, we will not so much consider mobility as a (or the only) means to achieve the type of institutional change meant by internationalisation. First of all, because that option seems to be related to the limited competences in educational policy of the EC in the period before the Maastricht Treaty. At present, although "subsidiarity" is still the basic principle of the Commission's actions, its strategies do extend the level of providing opportunities to individual students and scholars.

The second reason is more of a theoretical nature. With Dalin (1989) and Fullan (1993), we distinguish between individual, system and organisation strategies as ways to achieve change in education. From that point of view it is not reasonable to expect from mobility as a single individual strategy to have effects at the level of the organisation (the institution) or even the higher education system. We prefer to see mobility as one of the instruments, part of a broader package of instruments and strategies that aim to achieve internationalisation in higher education. This is not only more justified from a theoretical point of view, but also more in line with present developments in internationalisation policies and programmes.

A comprehensive definition of internationalisation can be found in the work of Knight (1993). She describes internationalisation as *"the process of integrating an international dimension into the research, teaching and services functions of an institution of higher education"*. We agree very much with both the process approach and the broad range of functions concerned. At the same time it should be noted that the term "integrating" refers in our view

more to an effort that is undertaken in the context of institutional strategies and policy than to one undertaken by national governments. In many western countries, the steering philosophy and consequently the level of autonomy of higher education institutions, mean that integrating something into a higher education institution is not really part of the role of the government. A second comment on the definition concerns the fact that no further goal of the process of internationalisation is indicated. This could suggest that internationalisation is an aim in itself, while in many countries and settings it is rather seen as a means to achieve a wider goal, such as quality improvement, or, as is the case in Central and Eastern European countries, that of restructuring and upgrading of higher education systems and services.

Therefore we will, in the context of this study on national policies for internationalisation, choose to adopt a wider definition of internationalisation, including any *systematic, sustained effort aimed at making higher education (more) responsive to the requirements and challenges related to the globalisation of societies, economy and labour markets.* This approach emphasises internationalisation as a response of higher education to globalisation, which as such can be understood as a set of interrelated processes of a cultural, political, economic and technological nature which are transcending national borders. Requirements and challenges related to this globalisation concern the level and content of academic and research programmes, the level and profile of graduates (especially their abilities to perform in an international and multi-cultural context), the profile of staff, the leadership, the way in which an institution is organised, its partnerships, etc.

Besides the fact that this definition enables us better to describe the role and efforts of governments, it offers the possibility of including many of the recent higher education reform efforts as developed in Central and Eastern European countries. These reforms were at first not so much aimed at introducing an international dimension into higher education, but were rather targeted at restructuring and upgrading of the higher education system as part of the wider process of transition to democratic and pluralistic market economies. International cooperation was seen as an important means to achieve these goals. It can thus be said that such internationalisation is not merely an aim in itself, but an important resource in the development of higher education towards a system that is first of all in line with

international standards. And secondly towards one that is open and responsive to its global environment. At present we can see that further reforms in these countries are increasingly targeted towards the latter type of internationalisation (see Bremer).

A last advantage of this wider definition is that it puts internationalisation more in the perspective of educational innovation, change or reform, which serves both in a theoretical and in a practical way, since lessons learned from educational innovations and related research can only support and strengthen efforts in the internationalisation of higher education.

The disconnection between internationalisation and higher education policy

Our second question concerned the disconnection and lack of reference between the bibliography on academic mobility and internationalisation on the one hand and the bibliography on higher education policy on the other.

First it is important to affirm that in many countries national policies for internationalisation of higher education do of course exist and that they may very well be part of the wider higher education policy as well. For instance in Germany, the Framework Act on Higher Education, as well as the higher education acts of the federal states stress that: *"Institutions of higher education shall promote international and, in particular, European cooperation in the higher education sector and the exchange of students and staff between German and foreign institutions of higher education; they shall take the specific needs of foreign students into consideration"* (Schnitzer and Korte, 1995, p.2).

The French internationalisation policy for higher education is interwoven with the "politique contractuelle" (internationalisation activities are integrated into the contracts between the institutions and the Ministry of Higher Education that are agreed for a period of four years) and reflects priorities such as: student exchanges with (in particular) EU and other industrialised countries, guaranteeing the recognition of diplomas, the development of internationalised curricula, double-degree programmes and co-supervised PhD studies (France, 1995).

Sweden has a particularly long tradition in national policy for internationalisation, which as an element of wider higher education policy

is firmly installed in budget bills which are presented every year to parliament and which are characterised by a coherent linking of Nordic, European and wider international strategies and in particular the cooperation with developing countries (see Kälvemark).

Finland's higher education policy also reflects specific attention to internationalisation. Here it is emphasised that student and staff exchanges are not an end in themselves. Two main objectives are to prepare students for operating successfully in an increasingly international society and work-place, and secondly, to improve the quality and effectiveness of education and to diversify its supply. It is noted that modern information and communication technologies (ICT) have lowered the barriers to international interaction. And as information networks permit real-time cooperation by much larger groups of people than those participating in student exchanges, it is said that quota targets for student exchange have therefore become obsolete (Finland, 1996).

Another example concerns the Netherlands, where internationalisation of higher education is both stimulated through specific measures and programmes created by the government (since 1988), as well as it is mentioned in the Higher Education and Research Plan, the main planning document on higher education (since 1994), in which it is described in relation to the strategic position of the Netherlands and the positioning of the Dutch higher education institutions (see Van Dijk).

A final example regards Switzerland where internationalisation represents one of the major goals for higher education in the 1990s (see above). Obviously, illustrations and examples could be provided for many other countries as well.

Conceptual disconnection

The disconnection can thus not be explained by a complete lack of attention to internationalisation at the governmental policy level. The disconnection seems rather to be of a conceptual nature. First, it can be said that in higher education research and the related literature, higher education and higher education policy are fairly much perceived as something transpiring within a strictly national context; neither the international context or environment of higher education, nor the internationalisation processes occurring between and within the institutions are really being taken into account.

The summary of the 1995 Forum of the European Association of Institutional Research held in Zurich, which was delivered during the closing plenary session, can serve as an illustration. The conference theme was "Dynamics in Higher Education" and the conference tracks (including one on internationalisation, *sic*) were synthesised along the lines of the "Triangle of Coordination" (Clark, 1983, see above). As elements of the changing dynamics in higher education, issues such as decentralisation, integration, flexibility and adaptation were discussed. At no point, however, was reference made to the influence of either the international environment of higher education or of the internationalisation process within the institutions on the relationships between the state, the market and the institutions.

Another example has already been provided in the previous sections of this paper. In many research reports on higher education (policy), despite the international comparative approach, the issue of internationalisation is not really addressed. An exception to this pattern is found in the OECD's regular country reviews of education. In these documents internationalisation is often discussed very explicitly, which has led in various cases to an important impetus for further policy development on internationalisation by the national authorities (e.g. in the Netherlands after the 1986 review, Austria after 1988, and in Japan after a review in the late 1970s).

Secondly, and at the same time, research and related literature on internationalisation also reflect certain limitations. On the one hand they often narrow the concept and definition of internationalisation down to that of individual mobility, which does not imply the wider process of internationalising the higher education institutions (see above). On the other hand, if it does take the wider institutional strategies into account then little use is made of the theories, concepts and insights used in and gained from higher education research. The latter is for instance illustrated by the very stimulating book "Strategies for Internationalisation of Higher Education" (De Wit ed., 1995), where the various contributions, including the chapter on historical and conceptual perspectives (Knight & de Wit, 1995), are virtually exclusively based on bibliographical sources regarding the internationalisation of higher education.

This conceptual disconnection could be explained by the difference in disciplinary basis and prevailing paradigms in the two fields. General higher education research has, since the late 1980s and 1990s, introduced a prime

emphasis on governance and management issues, mainly based on disciplines such as law, political science, economics and public and business administration. Related to the major paradigm of the relationship between the state government and the higher education institutions, planning, power, consensus, efficiency and effectiveness, funding, etc. are important aspects of analysis (Teichler, 1996). Research on internationalisation was, certainly until the 1990s, mainly based on disciplines as sociology, psychology and anthropology, focusing in particular on issues arising from student mobility and mobility schemes (Teichler, 1994). Recently, more emphasis has been placed on research based on educational sciences.

Interestingly, two authors seem to bridge these two domains and appear frequently in both bibliographies. Both Neave and Teichler focus in their work on internationalisation mainly on the role, policy and programmes of the European Union in the field of higher education.

Political and practical disconnection

Besides conceptual disconnection, there may also in some cases be a political or practical disconnection between internationalisation and the wider higher education policy of a country.

Political reasons make that in some cases internationalisation might not be dealt with by a national authority for (higher) education. This is for instance the case in Canada, where education is the responsibility of provincial governments, but foreign policy falls within the purview of the national government. Policy with regard to international cooperation in higher education is situated at the meeting point of these two mandates (Egron-Polak, 1996). Or in the US, where the responsibility for education lies with the states, but where the Departments of State, Defence, Commerce and many others which have to deal with the international relations of the US, take some interest in internationalisation and where members of these departments take initiatives in developing policies in this area (Holzner & Greenwood, 1995). Another example concerns Germany, where the national government could only accept the Maastricht Treaty after a change in the constitution which secures greater influence for the "Länder" on the German position in Brussels whenever matters involving culture and education are dealt with (Roeloffs, 1996). A particular situation also exists in the Netherlands, where the Institutes for International Education, which

were founded in the 1950s with the aim to accommodate students from developing countries, formally fall under the responsibility of the Ministry of Education, but are at the same time strongly influenced by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' policy for development cooperation, as this Ministry provides grants for many of the students enrolled in these institutions.

Practical disconnections could be related to the fact that the implementation of internationalisation policies on the one hand and of general higher education policies on the other, may be based on different policy instruments. The policy instruments that a government has at its disposal to steer and to bring about change within higher education can be classified in many ways (see for an overview Goedegebuure & van Vught, 1994). According to Hood (1984) they can be distinguished as follows: instruments of information, instruments of treasure, instruments of authority and instruments of action. These instruments differ in the level of restraint they try to produce with regard to the behaviour of, for instance, higher education institutions. Of course, there are variations in the way these instruments are used in different countries. Governments which apply a model of rational planning and control will prefer the use of highly restrictive instruments, such as instruments of authority and treasure). In a self-regulated model, the government relies more on the self-regulatory capacities of decentralised decision-making units and thus less restrictive instruments will be used.

In principle we could expect that these differences would also be reflected in the way governments introduce and implement internationalisation policies. This, however, assumes coherence between the steering model and instruments that governments use in their higher educational policy in general and those they apply in their internationalisation policy. This does not always seem to be the case.

When we describe policy instruments in more practical terms (Goedegebuure *et al, 1994)* we can see that with regard to the most important policy instruments, which are funding, planning, evaluation and regulation, differences between general higher education policy and internationalisation policy can be observed.

Firstly, in many countries, the financing of internationalisation is not part of the mainstream funding of the institutions. In general it is characterised by temporary, project based, and sometimes pump-priming funding and grants are often awarded, sometimes through the institution or through an

intermediary body, directly to individual students and academics. In countries with a student financial support system, support for study abroad is generally not included in these systems. There are exceptions, however, such as Sweden, where students are entitled to use their state grants and loans for study abroad, provided that the institution to which they want to go is approved by the Swedish National Agency for Higher Education (HsV). Similarly, Dutch students can use their state grants to study in Flanders, and the adjacent *Länder* of Germany (Bremen, Nordhrein-Westfalen and Niedersachsen). In some disciplines (medicine, para-medical studies and architecture) they can study throughout the entire EU.

Secondly, internationalisation is not always integrated into the main planning process or cycle by which the steering of higher education is realised. It may be mentioned in higher education bills or plans (as is for instance the case in France, Sweden, the Netherlands, Switzerland and Germany, see above), but in general the implementation is realised through separate policy documents, according to budget lines and often also through special agencies.

Thirdly, evaluation as an instrument is often applied in a different way when it concerns internationalisation. Evaluation, *ex ante* and/or *ex post*, of (proposals for) internationalisation projects and grants is common practice in most countries. Paying attention to internationalisation in the context of regular quality assessment or assurance procedures, however, is quite exceptional (Van der Wende, 1996b). This situation is changing, as at present specific projects are being developed for quality assurance in internationalisation (OECD/ACA, 1995). National bodies in a number of countries also developed initiatives for quality assurance on internationalisation. Guidelines and codes of practice have been developed by for instance the Centre for International Mobility (CIMO) in Finland, the Center for Quality Assurance in International Education in the US, the Higher Education Quality Council and the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principles of Universities in the UK, by the Australian Vice-Chancellors Committee, by the Association of Dutch Polytechnics and Colleges and Nuffic in the Netherlands. These instruments are no more than guidelines, however, and play no role in the formal quality assessment processes. An example can be noted for the UK, where recently the Higher Education Quality Council investigated the overseas activities of the institutions as part of their regular quality assessment procedure (see Elliott).

Fourthly, internationalisation as such is not subject to regulation or legislation, it is the responsibility of institutions whether or not they internationalise how and to what extent. Related issues, such as admission or fee policy can be the subject of national or European legislation, or of international agreements and directives, as is the case for recognition.

From these observations it can be seen that the practical disconnection between internationalisation and general higher education policy is multiple. Consequently, it can be said that in this respect internationalisation may seem marginal or peripheral indeed, since it is in several aspects only very weakly integrated into the mainstream higher education policy of the country. As a result it is in general not considered as a serious indicator for educational performance, or as a quality criterion, nor would it have any consequences for funding. Another result is that the problem of linking internationalisation with the wider policy is duplicated at the institutional level. The different nature of internationalisation funding and planning mechanisms often makes it quite difficult to integrate internationalisation within wider institutional strategies. If we add to this the fact that EC policies and programmes apply strategies and instruments that are even more different, i.e. extremely detailed planning and control in times when governmental policies in many countries are characterised by de-centralisation, substitution of detailed regulation, and a shift from earmarked funding to block grant budgeting or lump sum funding (Maassen and Van Vught, 1994), some problems with the implementation and especially the institutionalisation of internationalisation at the level of higher education institutions may become understandable.

On the basis of our analysis of the political and practical disconnection between internationalisation and higher education policy, it can be concluded that internationalisation is peripheral in the sense that it is often not a part of mainstream policy making, that special policy mechanisms and instruments are used and that other than typical higher education authorities may be involved. However, the conclusion that it would be marginal in terms of being insignificant or non-essential is certainly not justified. On the contrary, internationalisation is essential and increasingly important in the conception and steering of higher education. Teichler (1996) even states that: "*The trans-national activities in higher education, for example staff and student mobility, graduate mobility, international knowledge transfer, curricular coordination through international networks, matters of recognition, etc. might*

spread so much that they overshadow the remaining national system characteristics" (p. 450).

The growing importance of internationalisation in higher education policy

There are various reasons for arguing that internationalisation will become increasingly important in higher education policy. First there are two widely recognised arguments which have so far served as main driving forces for internationalisation.

- Academic and professional requirements for graduates increasingly reflect the demands of the globalisation of societies, economy and labour markets and thus higher education must provide an adequate preparation for that. These requirements include not only academic and professional knowledge, but also multi-lingualism, and social and intercultural skills and attitudes.
- The level of specialisation in research and the size of the investments that are indispensable to certain fields of research and development require collaborative efforts and intensive international cooperation.

These two forces will remain major rationales for internationalisation, as we can see that their influence is expanding. First, globalisation of the professions and related international cooperation of professional organisations influence the formulation of international professional requirements. European professional associations (e.g. of biologists, chemists, engineers, and physicists, speech therapists, physiotherapists) are achieving detailed agreements on professional profiles or developing standards of requirements for Euro-degrees. Comparable initiatives are developed in other regions (e.g. in the context of NAFTA) or are being undertaken world wide (e.g. for accountancy). These developments challenge the further internationalisation of higher education, as was demonstrated in a recent OECD meeting on the theme of "Globalisation of the Professions", where internationalisation of higher education was at the centre of the first recommendation for future work.

Secondly, extreme levels of specialisation not only affect research, but also the educational functions of the higher education institutions. Especially in small countries, it is felt that in quality assurance processes, (peer) reviews should be international, as the number of experts in a certain field may be

too limited. For comparable reasons one of the Dutch technical universities recently decided that the appointment of new professors should be constantly based on the advice of an international nominations committee.

Additionally, the following two developments are increasingly influencing the international dimension of higher education:

- The recruitment of foreign students has become a significant factor for institutional income and of national economic interest.
- The use of new information and communication technologies in the delivery of education and the involvement of private actors in this mean that national borders and the role of national governments in education become blurred.

A decreasing level of public expenditure on higher education means that institutions are increasingly stimulated to search for alternative income through not only their research but also their educational services. In various countries, foreign, full-fee paying students are considered as a strong financial resource for institutions. But also as an important contribution to the national economy. In certain countries, such as the USA and Australia, education ranks among the top ten cross-border sales of services. The UK also reports that international students make a very considerable contribution to UK exports. New countries, such as Canada and the Netherlands, are making their entrance on the global education market place. In both these countries higher education has recently been declared an export product, part of the country's wider export policy. Germany is an example of a country that used to attract a large number of foreign students, but which is at present, with a view to the international market and its economic benefits, defining a new orientation on foreign student recruitment.

Another important development is related to the introduction of new information and communication technologies, which makes it possible to fulfil the modern needs of life long and flexible learning as well as to meet the huge demand for higher education which is related to the rapid economic growth in certain regions of the world. In conferences which were recently held in Singapore (organised by the British Council and IDP Education Australia) and in Adelaide (IDP Education Australia) the situation with regard to the Asia-Pacific region was discussed in particular. In this region the forecast of an immense growth in the demand for higher education forces an orientation on non-traditional ways for the delivery of education. New

technologies such as the Internet, video-conferencing, multimedia applications, etc. seem to provide these new ways.

The development and delivery of these new forms of distance learning has two interesting characteristics. Firstly, it requires cross-sectoral cooperation between academic, software/multimedia, and telecommunication experts and possibly even with broadcasting and entertainment specialists. Therefore the development and delivery of this type of education is often supported by consortia which are at least partly composed of private companies (e.g. the World Learning Network, which will include the British Open University, the BBC and British Telecom) or even consist of exclusively corporate actors, such as Motorola University, Ericsson's Competence Development Centre, Jones Educational Network, etc. Secondly, this type of education is really borderless and thus able to serve domestic as well as overseas markets. The high investment costs and required economies of scale as well as the increasing demands for higher education in other parts of the world reinforce this international scope.

The emerging global education marketplace and new technology are contributing to the rapid globalisation of higher education. Moreover, they introduce not only new forms of education and new actors in the development and delivery of that education, they also enhance the concept of higher education as an export commodity or service that can be traded internationally. The role and influence of national governments in the international expansion of higher education is limited. In particular the quality assurance and accreditation of transnational education are issues of concern. A new organisation, called GATE (the Global Alliance for Transnational Education) which includes members from higher education institutions, quality assurance agencies, governments, intergovernmental organisations and the corporate sector, was recently established with the aim of developing quality standards and principles for transnational education.

A final argument why higher education can no longer be viewed in a strictly national context is the eroding relationship between the nation state and education systems in western countries. De Vijlder (1996) describes that as a result of on the one hand individualisation and on the other hand globalisation processes the role of the nation state in the steering and control of education is being eroded. He argues that the individualisation of western societies has introduced different expectations of the role and values of

education, has caused the individualisation of learning processes, as well as an integration of learning, work and leisure, and has put the meritocratic ideology of education under pressure. Globalisation means that national education takes on a nationalistic character in a world where borders are fading away. Furthermore, it means that national systems for professional and higher education as elements of national economic systems lose their meaning as these economic systems obtain a global character. The role of schools in the transfer of knowledge, skills and values is declining in a world where boundless information is available through information and communication systems. Finally, he states that the importance of national educational policy as an aspect of social policy is decreasing as a result of global interdependencies in labour, income, demographic and ecological issues.

The above discussed issues demonstrate the growing importance of internationalisation in higher education policy and the fact that higher education has now become really part of the globalisation process: the cross-border matching of supply and demand. Consequently higher education (policy) can no longer be viewed in a strictly national context.

This calls for a broader definition of internationalisation (see above), which embraces the entire functioning of higher education and not merely a dimension or aspect of it, or the actions of some individuals which are part of it. In the end, the disconnection between internationalisation (in this new definition) and general higher education policy (positioned in the global context) may very well diminish and even disappear.

Conclusions so far

In this paper, we intend to study national policies for internationalisation in the wider context of national policy making on higher education. On the basis of our bibliographical search we concluded that "internationalisation" seems to play a minor role in governmental policies for higher education. We discovered that this is certainly not due to the fact that internationalisation is a too recent or purely marginal phenomenon, but rather that this is caused by a disconnection between internationalisation and general higher education policy. A disconnection which has parallel, and most likely interrelated, conceptual, political and practical aspects. It was affirmed that there is a lack of reference between the bibliographies on internationalisation and higher

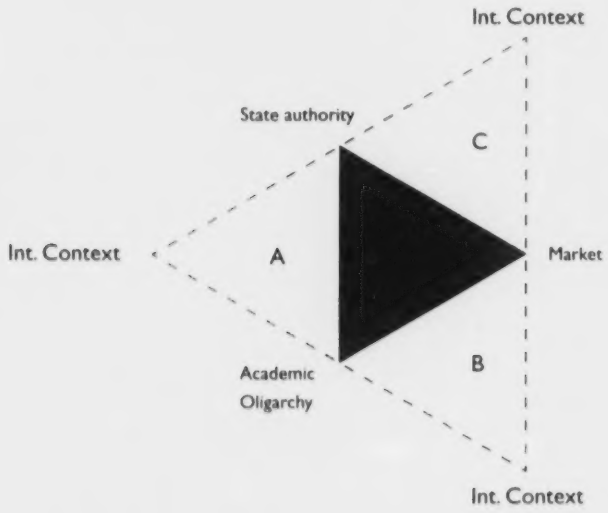
education and that there is in general a weak integration of internationalisation into mainstream higher education policy. Nevertheless, internationalisation cannot be considered as an insignificant aspect of higher education. On the contrary, various global trends and developments mean that it will become an increasingly important element and an even undeniable dimension of higher education policy.

It is therefore necessary to bridge the gap between the fields of internationalisation and general higher education, both in terms of policy and of research. A broader definition of internationalisation is essential but not enough for this. The conceptual basis of higher education policy (research) should also be broadened. We thus agree with Teichler that: *"Comparative research on higher education cannot continue to treat common international trends merely as common elements in different countries, as it was conceived in traditional comparative studies, and it cannot treat trans-national phenomena anymore as being outside the domain of comparative research as, for example, Goedegebuure and van Vught (1994) argued. New conceptual frameworks are required"* (1996, p. 451).

Towards a new approach for the study of higher education policy in an international context

As an attempt to contribute to the bridging of the gap that exists between higher education policy (research) and (research on) the internationalisation of higher education, we will build on the prevalent and widely accepted model of coordination in higher education (Clark's triangle, see above). We will try to extend and elaborate the model by putting it explicitly in an international context and perspective in order to formulate the questions that are relevant for the study of higher education policy in an international context.

Figure 2: Coordination of higher education in an international context



By placing the model in an international context we can first of all describe the international characteristics of the interactive forces that determine the coordination of the higher education system in a certain country. Secondly, we can explore the new areas of influence and investigate how the relationships and interaction between these forces are affected by the international context.

In an international context, the state authority is in general characterised by increasingly intensive discussions and cooperation with other national governments. Regionalisation, global trade agreements and the role of a supra-national government (as in the European Union) enhance the interdependency of countries including their higher education systems. Although the responsibility of the national authority for education is always fully respected and although the systems still demonstrate persistent differences, there is a growing awareness of the influence that new policy decisions may have on the non-domestic market. Besides initiatives from intergovernmental organisations, cooperation may emerge between adjacent countries for purposes of mutual benefit from educational offerings and infrastructure, for enhancement of the system's effectiveness or with the aim of reducing system differences and related obstacles (e.g. Nordic cooperation, bilateral cooperation between Germany and France through the Germany Franco-German Council for Higher Education, the neighbouring countries

policy of the Netherlands with parts of Belgium and Germany, etc. – See for an overview of regional cooperation: Race, 1996. In countries with a strong education export or marketing policy, the international orientation of their policy is undeniable and strongly interwoven with other policy areas (economy & trade).

In the international context, the market can be defined in (at least) two ways. First, the labour market for graduates and second the market of prospective students. Both should be seen as an international context factor. The international character of the labour market and the related requirements for the training profile of graduates and the global education marketplace and the role of international student recruitment have been discussed extensively in the previous section of this paper.

The academic oligarchy is also not nationally bound, but is essentially characterised by international mobility, networking and cooperation, joint education and research efforts and programmes, mutual recognition, international peer review, and even strategic cooperation at the administrative and management level.

The model shows that new areas of influence can be defined (field A, B and C). Correspondingly, questions can be asked about how the interaction between the national forces (the national situation) is affected by the international context.

A. What is the interplay between the international, national and institutional forces in the shaping and establishment of national policies for higher education and how does this affect these policies and the higher education system more generally?
B. What is the interplay between the international context, the market and the institutions in the shaping of institutional policies and how does it affect these policies?
C. What is the interplay between the international, national and market forces in the shaping of national policies for higher education and how does this affect these policies and the higher education system more generally?

Conceptual framework and objectives for the study on national policies for the internationalisation of higher education

The study on national policies for internationalisation of higher education will be based on the concepts which have been set out in the previous sections of this chapter. These can be summarised as follows.

Firstly, we will adopt a broad and comprehensive definition of internationalisation, which takes the national policy perspective directly into account. Internationalisation will be understood to be a systematic, sustained effort (undertaken by governments) aimed at making higher education (system of a certain country) (more) responsive to the requirements and challenges related to the globalisation of societies, economy and labour markets. It has been said that these requirements may in principle concern all aspects of higher education: academic programmes, research, students and graduates, faculty and staff, management and administration, etc. and that these efforts may include a larger range of higher education reforms, such as those that are being undertaken in Central and Eastern Europe since the early 1990s.

Secondly, in the context of our attempt to make a step towards bridging the gap between internationalisation policy and research on the one hand and general higher education policy and research on the other, we will use the model for the coordination of higher education in an international context (see figure 2), as the wider basis and conceptual framework for this study. However, in the context of this study, we will restrict ourselves to the investigation of the national policies for internationalisation of higher education. The above formulated questions could thus be operationalised as follows:

- What is the interplay of the international, national and institutional forces in the shaping and establishment of national policies *for internationalisation* of higher education and how does this affect these policies and the higher education system more generally?
- What is the interplay between the international, national and market forces in the shaping of national policies *for internationalisation* of higher education and how does this affect these policies and the higher education system more generally?

The question related to field B falls outside the scope of the present project, as it regards institutional policies in an area where national governments have (at least theoretically) no influence.

Furthermore, in our examination of the influence of the international context, we will pay particular attention to the role of the EU; the agreements, actions and programmes which are launched by the European Commission.

Thirdly, we will take an international comparative approach. This opportunity was offered thanks to the initiative of the ACA Working Group on Western Europe to undertake a comparative study on national policies for internationalisation of higher education (see chapter 1). This group has served as the main implementation vehicle for the study, which allows us to benefit from the detailed insights of experienced practitioners in their role of occasional researchers.

The objectives for the study, as defined by the ACA Working Group on Western Europe, are to give an overview of national policies (where they exist) for internationalisation of higher education over the last ten years up to the year 2000, to analyse these policies and to show their impact on national systems. The study is conceived to include all levels of higher education (undergraduate to postgraduate). It will contain reports from all countries represented in the Western European Working Group on their policies for world-wide cooperation, leaving the possibility of future extension to other countries.

The focus of the study concerns the following three central questions:

1. Why do national governments stimulate internationalisation of higher education (general rationales) and what are their motives for setting certain priorities?
2. How do national governments establish and implement their internationalisation policies?
3. To what extent and how has internationalisation affected the national higher education system and policy and *vice versa*?

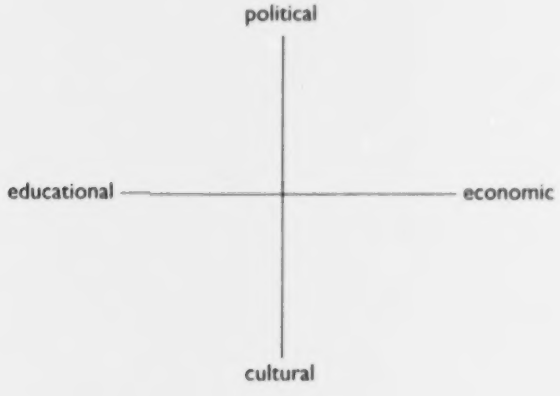
These general questions have been worked out into more detailed guidelines for country case studies, as has been set out in the Introduktion above. These

guidelines have also served as the basic structure for the country reports, which will be presented in the following chapters.

Rationales for internationalisation can be divided into various categories. Knight & De Wit (1995) mention the economic and political rationales (including arguments related to economic growth and investment in the future economy, the labour market, foreign policy, financial incentives and national educational demand) and cultural and educational rationales (including statements on the cultural function, development of the individual, the international dimension to research and teaching, institution building and quality improvement). Also Blumenthal *et al* (1996) discern that internationalisation policy can have political, economic, educational, cultural or academic, scientific and technological dimension.

In reality, national policies for internationalisation will in many cases be based on a mixture of various rationales. Therefore, the national policy in the different countries and the possible changes over the last decade and those foreseen in the near future, will be characterised along (all) the various dimensions, with the help of the model presented below. It should be noted that in this model the weight of a certain rationale or dimension is noted independently from all others. In other words: the two axes do not represent two continuums, but four separate lines each with a minimum (in the middle of the model) and a maximum (at the exterior of the model).

Figure 3: Rationales for the internationalisation policy of a given country



The model will not only be instrumental in the characterisation of a country's policy and the possible shift(s) in it, it will also be helpful in comparing the policies of various different countries. Obviously, the model will be applied on the basis of qualitative rather than quantitative data and analyses.

In the examination of the establishment and implementation of national policies for internationalisation and of the influence of internationalisation on the national higher education system and policy (question 2 and 3), specific attention will be paid to the interplay of the various international and national forces and actors. In this way the model for coordination of higher education in an international context (figure 2) will serve as a conceptual basis and we will be able to explore the questions related to fields A and C (see above) where they concern national policy for internationalisation of higher education.

Issues for further research

Hopefully it will be possible to extend the present study to other countries in the context of other research projects

Furthermore, it will be important to examine the area (field B of figure 2) where there is no (direct) influence from national government, but which is defined by the interplay of international factors, the market (private/ corporate actors) and the institutions. Particularly in the context of the emerging global market for higher education and the use of new technologies (see above), this might become an extremely important new field of research. Finally, it is hoped that the model for the coordination of higher education in an international context (figure 2) will be used and explored for issues that concern higher education policy in general. In this way the influence of the international context and developments on higher education policy could probably be assessed more systematically. This could contribute to bridging the disconnection between internationalisation and higher education policy, towards bringing trans-national phenomena inside the domain of comparative research, and the model could be further developed and improved.

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Austria

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Fundamental political ideas and commitments underpinning the Austrian national policy[1]

Developing an appreciation for the historical and cultural background of the Austrian university system is important for an understanding of current university policy debates. It is a historical matter of fact that "international" primarily referred to internationally relevant research in Austria executed at universities, as opposed to independent research facilities. Furthermore, when the issue of internationalisation was addressed in Austria in the past, it frequently only referred to the competitive status of Austrian research achievements on the global research market, especially in the fields of science and technology. However, in the past decade, the concept of internationalising study programmes and promoting mobility has assumed a correspondingly important position in the foreground of the debate on meaning and function of internationalisation at Austrian institutions of higher education.

Official government documents, such as coalition agreements and government programmes, can be used to document how the consciousness and level of awareness has developed since the mid-1980s. The government programme of 1983, for example, included a singular, formulaic reference to "the international dimension of science and research". The government programme of 1987 was more explicit in addressing the importance of "continuing the development of international research cooperation" as well

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[1] This paper only addresses the internationalisation of higher education in Austria. International research cooperation is not included in this report. The authors wish to thank Norbert Neumann from the Amtsbibliothek of the Austrian Ministry of Science and Transport for the exceptionally valuable and unbureaucratic support he provided as well as the following officials from the Ministry: Peter Ecker, Othmar Huber, Heinz Kasparovsky, Raoul Kneucker, Hans Pechar, Christine Perle, Margarethe Pompl, Fritz Temmel, and Barbara Weitgruber.

as "participating to the greatest extent possible in the European research and technology community." In 1990, the coalition agreement of the Austrian federal government addressed the issue of modernising degree programmes in the light of international developments. Among the immediate concerns were the conformity and compatibility of Austrian diplomas and degrees with those of the European Community – Austria's request for accession negotiations with the EC was submitted to Brussels in June 1989 – and the development of vocationally oriented post-secondary programmes that specifically took into account the needs and expectations of the Austrian private sector that had to prepare for the competitive challenges of the common European market. (These considerations played a considerable role in the Austrian decision to develop a *Fachhochschule* sector.)

The government programme of 1996 articulated reform measures that were explicitly aimed at a further internationalisation of higher education: "opening Europe for young people by providing for the unbureaucratic recognition of academic work performed abroad"; "the legal regulation of accreditation procedures for private and foreign universities in Austria"; "facilitating Austrian academies and universities to offer courses and study programmes outside of Austria"; and "increasing the involvement of Austrian researchers in the research facilities of the European Union."

Historical and geopolitical variables – the deterioration of the Habsburg monarchy, World War I, World War II, and the peculiarities of Austria's geopolitical position as a neutral state in Central Europe during the Cold War – have profoundly influenced the development of universities in this century. Austrian universities lost their "imperial hinterland" in 1918. A considerable number of Austria's best scholars and scientists emigrated for racial or political reasons to escape National Socialism in 1938 or they perished under it thereafter. The war took its own toll on the Austrian scientific community, and the conditions for study and research in Austria were scarcely attractive during the post-war years of reconstruction. Each of these events contributed to a "provincialisation" of the Austrian academic community.

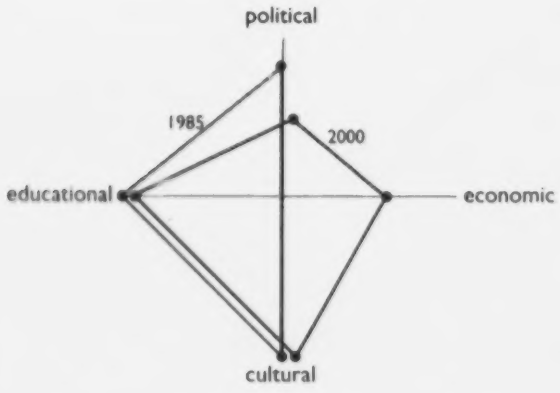
This situation was exacerbated by an anachronistic self-image cultivated by Austrians that nostalgically defined Austria's greatness in terms of the artistic, cultural and scientific achievements of its glorious past. Furthermore, in 1988, an OECD study – 'Reviews of National Science and Technology

Policy – Austria – identified an "isolation complex" in Austria that appeared "to be largely due to historical circumstances and to the fact that, having held an essential role in the history of Europe and the world for centuries, it suddenly lost that role without being able to find a place in the new political groupings." Due to these "psychological difficulties" this report observed that Austria had not been as successful as other neutral states, such as Switzerland and Sweden, in terms of positioning and asserting itself. This report recommended that Austria "take greater pride in its scientific and technological potential [...], abandoning its nostalgia about past history ..." and observed that internationalisation was an "imperative necessity".

The retrospective and "introspective" attitudes that were characteristic for many members of Austria's academic and scientific communities for many years have been transformed by a series of profound national and international changes in the past decade. A serious national debate on the necessity of a closer relationship with the European Community began in 1987 and culminated in Austria's accession to the European Union in 1995. The collapse of Communism in Central and Eastern Europe in 1989 not only facilitated this process but also presented Austria with an unprecedented opportunity to redefine its relationship to the former Communist states in the region. In figurative terms, Austria moved west and east at the same time and was forced to redefine its position in a "new Europe" The coalition agreement of the governing Social Democrats (SPÖ) and Christian Democrats (ÖVP) in 1990 stated that "the dynamics of European integration, the opening of eastern neighbour states, and the internationalisation of many realms of life place new demands on educational policy and make a further improvement of the quality of the educational system necessary."

In addition to these specifically Austrian perspectives on internationalisation, the Austrian debate has been influenced by the global discussion on internationalisation in higher education, and the following topics have been component parts of public discourse on higher education in the past decade: improving competitive capacity, innovation, and quality; enhancing social, political, and cultural participation; and developing the ability to act in a multinational setting. These last two points illustrate particularly well to what extent the internationalisation of the Austrian educational system must be seen in the context of European integration: a "European dimension" that transcends the concerns of economic integration.

Rationals for the internationalisation policy of Austria



National Policy for the Internationalisation of Higher Education

Until the mid-1980s, the Republic of Austria relied on a variety of conventional legal instruments — treaties, agreements on cultural and scientific exchange, notes of understanding, etc. — to promote internationalisation of research and higher education on a bilateral or state-to-state basis, but it would be difficult to take the sum total of these agreements and identify a consistent or long-term internationalisation policy. Furthermore, the traditionally high degree of centralisation in the administration of higher education in Austria deprived individual institutions of the decision-making instruments and the funds that would have been necessary to articulate and pursue internationalisation which, in turn, was not considered a policy priority. However, starting in the mid-1980s various actors in higher education policy recognised the importance of internationalisation and succeeded in putting it on the higher education agenda.

Austria's interest in accession to the European Community (as of 1987) and corresponding interest in participating in the multilateral mobility and research programmes of the EC inspired considerable innovation and internationalisation at Austrian institutions of higher education. The extension of Community research and education programmes to the member states of EFTA, including Austria, and the establishment of the European Economic Area, as an antechamber to full accession to the EC, provided

Austrian institutions with a series of unprecedented opportunities and challenges. Austrian HEIs began participating as "silent partners" in ERASMUS at the beginning of the 1989/90 academic year. In late autumn 1989, the treaty facilitating Austrian participation in COMETT II (COMETT=Community Action Programme for Education and Training for Technology) was ratified. In a similar manner Austrian participation began in the SCIENCE-Programme (Stimulation des Cooperations Internationales et des Echanges Necessaires aux Chercheurs en Europe) in early 1990 and in the SPES-Programme (Stimulation Plan for the Economic Sciences) in early 1991. The participation of Austrian HEIs in ERASMUS II was finalised in autumn 1991, which was also the deadline for the initial applications for participation in this programme. Participation in EC programmes marked the beginning of a qualitatively new phase of internationalisation characterised by their multilateral and European dimensions.

Target Countries and Trans-National Regions

European Community/European Union

Austrian HEIs were in EC programmes before Austria's accession to the European Union on January 1, 1995, and they functioned in this respect as a vanguard of integration. ERASMUS, a programme familiar to the twelve "old" members of the EC, was fully open to Austria HEIs at the beginning of the 1992/93 academic year (with an application deadline of October 1991). Eligible institutions included not only Austria's four "classical" universities, eight specialised universities, and six universities of the arts but also the colleges (Akademien) of the non-university sector responsible for the education of teachers and social workers. The most important national political signal that accompanied the beginning of Austrian participation in ERASMUS was the decision to top-off ERASMUS grants with national funding to make them even more attractive and to enhance mobility. Austrian participation grew exponentially from 893 outgoing Austrian students in 1992/93 to approximately 2,300 in 1996/97. The student flows under the new "institutional contract" arrangements of SOCRATES/ERASMUS represent an even further increase.

Parallel to beginning participation in EC programmes, Austria developed and pursued a strategy of cultivating and intensifying its bilateral relationships with specific EC/EU member states with the objective of employing

improved bilateral relations as a means of achieving a better position on a multilateral level. For example, since 1992/93, Austria has organised seven so-called science days and follow-up meetings with individual member states. Two different considerations dictated the choice of partners. On the one hand, Austria wanted to improve its position and profile in "large" member states, such as France and the United Kingdom; on the other hand, it wanted to profit from the experience other "small" member states had accumulated working in the EC, such as the Netherlands and Portugal.

Central and Eastern Europe

Since 1989/90, Austria, in light of its geopolitical position, has assumed an important position in assistance to Central and Eastern Europe. According to OECD statistics, Austria was one of the most generous providers of aid to countries in that region (in relative terms of GDP percentage) in the early 1990s. The Austrian Ministry of Science and Research established a "priority area" in Central and Eastern Europe after 1989 based on the criteria of geographical proximity, Austria's historical and traditionally good relations with numerous states in the region and the insight that the consequences of Austrian efforts would be enhanced and optimised by focusing on one region. The priority area included Bulgaria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, and Ukraine.

The initial period of unilateral Austrian assistance to states in the region during 1989/90 was soon followed by one of bi- and multilateral planning and cooperation on a number of different levels. The establishment of three so-called Action Programmes – Austria-Czech Republic, Austria-Slovakia and Austria-Hungary – based on the Fulbright Programme model of binational commissions and bilateral financing, policy making, and selection, provided new and flexible instruments for improving relations with these immediate neighbours of Austria. Austria initially bore three-quarters of the costs for programme activities, which range from student and researcher exchange to the establishment of joint courses. Currently, Austria bears two-thirds of the programme costs, and the funding of these programmes will shift to 50:50 in the future.

A noteworthy Austrian regional initiative was the establishment of the Central European Exchange Programme for University Studies (CEEPUS) in 1993. The objective of CEEPUS is to promote regional academic mobility within Central Europe. Over 200 university units from Austria,

Bulgaria, Croatia, Hungary, Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Slovenia are currently participating in different institutional and thematic networks of CEEPUS. Each country participating in CEEPUS pledges an annual contingent of "scholarship months" for incoming students, and these scholarship months are the "internal currency" of the CEEPUS programme. Under the auspices of CEEPUS, each host country "pays" for incoming students and faculty from all other CEEPUS countries by drawing on its own contingent of scholarship months.

Austrian universities also actively participated in the TEMPUS Programme (Trans-European Mobility Scheme for University Studies) after its inception in 1990, and as non-EU member state institutions until 1995, paid for the costs of participation. Austrian HEIs have been particularly active in the field of humanities, followed by mathematics and natural sciences. Austria participates in more than a quarter of all Joint European Projects. This experience will be helpful in terms of developing modes of cooperation with the countries of Central and Eastern Europe under the auspices of SOCRATES and LEONARDO.

USA, Canada and Latin America

In 1950 the governments of the USA and Austria signed the Fulbright Treaty, and more than 3000 Austrians and nearly 2000 Americans have since benefited from this programme which provides for exchanges of students, scholars and scientists, in addition to providing American academics with opportunities to teach at Austrian HEIs.

Austrian HEIs had a total of 136 cooperative, joint study, and/or exchange agreements with American HEIs (1996/97). As an Austrian contribution to the US bicentennial celebration in 1976, a Center for Austrian Studies was established at the University of Minnesota and a chair for Austrian guest professors at Stanford University. Furthermore, there is a Schumpeter Chair for Austrian scholars at Harvard University. Austrian HEIs also are involved in the EU-US and EU-Canada Cooperation Programmes as well as the EU-Latin American ALFA-Programme (ALFA=America Latina Formacion Academica).

Developing Countries

Cooperation with developing countries has a considerable tradition in Austria. As a small industrialised state with a high level of education and technical achievement, Austria has contributed above all in the realm of

human resources development. The annual expenditures for development cooperation overall are around 0.33% of the Austrian GNP, and professional education and advanced training are a major element in these programmes. Since the early 1990s, there has been a clear trend towards focusing Austrian efforts on five specific regions: Central America, the Sahel zone in West Africa, East Africa, South Africa, and the Himalaya-Hindukush region. Within these regions the following countries are of particular importance: Nicaragua; Cap Verde and Burkina Faso; Uganda, Rwanda and Ethiopia; Mozambique and Buthan. In 1997, there were 9000 students from developing countries among the 215,000 students enrolled at Austrian universities.

Southeast Asia

A particular noteworthy Austrian regional iniative in Asia has been the Austrian-Southeast Asian University Network: ASEA-UNINET. It consist of twentyfive HEIs from Austria, Indonesia, Thailand and Vietnam. It's objectives are to promote faculty and student exchange, joint research projects, facilitate the North-South flow of information and publications, and enhance related efforts in these fields.

Trans-National Regions

Austria has also promoted other forms of transnational regional cooperation. Since 1981, Austrian HEIs have participated in the "Alpine-Adriatic Working Group" (*Arbeitsgemeinschaft* (ARGE) *Alpen-Adria*) that consists of the Austrian federal provinces of Styria, Carinthia, and Upper Austria; Croatia and Slovenia (until 1991 as Yugoslav federal republics); Friuli-Veneti, Guilia, Veneto, Lombardy, Trentino-Alto Adige (Southern Tyrol) in Italy; and Sopron and Vas in Hungary. ARGE Alpen-Adria has facilitated the organisation of symposia and conferences, provided scholarships for postgraduate students, the exchange of academic staff, and led to additional bilateral agreements.

National Target Groups

Efforts to promote academic mobility and internationalisation were primarily focused for many years on university students. The extension of opportunities to students in the post-secondary, non-university sector of colleges (*Akademien*) was one of the direct consequences of Austrian participation in the ERASMUS programme after 1993. Students from institutions offering programmes in the recently established Austrian *Fach hochschule* sector (since 1993) also represent a new mobility target group.

In the 1980s, a variety of different postgraduate and postdoctoral programmes were established to support promising young scholars and scientists, such as the "Schrödinger Scholarship" of the Austrian Science Foundation and the APART (Austrian Programme for Advanced Research and Technology) Programme of the Austrian Academy of Sciences. University faculty are another target group which, in the light of the recent decentralisation of funding for international activities, have additional opportunities to finance mobility.

In the early 1970s, the Austrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in conjunction with the Ministry of Science and Research established a programme for "Austrian lecturers" that gives university graduates, the majority being holders of degrees in German, with opportunities to teach German language courses and courses on Austrian literature and culture at HEIs in over forty different countries.

Cooperation Activities

Austria has developed a variety of different instruments to promote cooperation as well as to enhance "outgoing" and "incoming" mobility for students, graduates, doctoral candidates, postdocs and established scholars and scientists. In chronological terms, the first important measures were the negotiation and ratification of bilateral agreements with a series of states within and outside of Europe, which as a rule entailed Austrian and foreign HEIs (student and faculty exchange). In the 1980s, these bilateral instruments were supplemented by "unilateral" Austrian initiatives designed to provide "global opportunities", in particular for "outgoing" Austrians who wished to pursue graduate study abroad after the completion of their first degrees or doctorates. There also was a special programme established for "incomers" from countries which did not have cultural exchange agreements with Austria and other at-large candidates: a scholarship programme called "*Bewerber aus aller Welt*". A third wave of internationalisation followed in the late 1980s when Austria began to participate in European educational mobility and research programmes. Since the early 1990s, many Austrian HEIs have been involved in the development of international curricula under the auspices of joint study programmes. A number of HEIs have developed special intensive international summer courses focusing on specific topics or fields of issues, and one particularly innovative piece of programming has been the development of summer "colleges" (Kollege)

that provide students from two countries, such as Austria and Hungary, with an opportunity to study the languages and cultures of their respective neighbours together.

Procedure of Establishing Policy

Traditionally one ministry was responsible for all forms of education – primary, secondary, post-secondary, and universities – as well as the arts in Austria: the Ministry of Education. However, in 1970 a new Ministry for Science and Research, which was entrusted with university agendas, was established by moving the relevant departments out of the Ministry of Education. In recent years, the Ministry of Science and Research has been reorganised a number of times, primarily due to extraneous political considerations, and gained as well as lost agendas. In 1994 it was renamed the Ministry of Science, Research and the Arts; in 1995 it became the Ministry of Science, Transport and the Arts; and in 1997 it was reorganised as the Ministry of Science and Transport.

In 1991 a special department (*Sektion*) for international affairs was established at the Ministry of Science and Research in order to promote and coordinate the processes of internationalisation not only in the HEI sector but in the (HEI and extra-university) research sector. It currently has 52 co-workers who are primarily responsible for developing and coordinating strategies for bilateral, regional and international cooperation.

Since the late 1980s and as a result of Austria's involvement in European educational mobility programmes, Austrian HEIs have pursued increasingly autonomous institutional policies for internationalisation tailored to meet their specific structures, strengths, and needs, and new institutional actors appeared on policy and operational levels.

Austrian HEIs have traditionally had faculty members from specific disciplines who are responsible for advising foreign students (*Auslandsbeauftragte*). In 1987, Karl-Franzens University in Graz was the first Austrian HEI to establish an "Office for International Relations" – modelled along the lines of comparable facilities at US institutions – responsible for advising students and faculty on "study abroad" opportunities, on the one hand, and for channelling student and faculty applications for scholarships, travel grants, research abroad, etc., funding to the Ministry, on the other. Since then, all

Austrian HEIs have established international offices which, in turn, have assumed a growing number of responsibilities, particularly in view of the opportunities that have accompanied Austrian participation in European programmes.

Decentralisation has been one of the main trends in the administration of higher education in Austria in the 1990s, and this has entailed placing funds for "international relations" in the broadest sense of the word at the discretionary disposal of HEIs which in turn had to establish commissions in order to articulate objectives and earmark expenditures. Decentralisation and university traditions of self-government have given HEIs an opportunity to establish their own priorities and internationalisation strategies.

In 1993, a new University Organisation Act, a major piece of reform legislation conceived to promote the decentralisation of higher education in Austria and substantially enhance university autonomy, gave Austrian HEIs a much greater capacity to implement their own institutional strategies. For example, many institutions in the course of implementation have decided to establish executive positions for international affairs, vice-rectors who will be responsible for the articulation and coordination of institution-wide efforts and policies.

Austrian participation in SOCRATES and LEONARDO also led to the establishment of a series of advisory boards: for SOCRATES boards for ERASMUS, COMENIUS, and Transversal Measures as well as a LEONARDO board. The members of these boards come from various constituencies: ministries, labour unions and economic chambers, student and teacher associations, and the Austrian Rectors' Conference. These boards function as policy advisory and supervisory bodies, and their most important tasks are to formulate strategies and articulate priorities.

Implementation of Policy

Policy developments on the administrative level of the ministries and the HEIs themselves required corresponding innovation on the operative level of student and faculty advising and programme management. The Austrian Academic Exchange Service (*Österreichischer Akademischer Austauschdienst*, ÖAD) played a substantial role in the creation of new institutions. ÖAD, founded in 1961 as an association of all Austrian HEIs, is responsible for

managing a wide range of scholarship and exchange programmes for students, scholars, and scientists on behalf of the Austrian Ministry of Science and Transport, the Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and has branch offices in each of Austria's seven "university cities.". ÖAD has a staff of 50 co-workers and manages a budget of 320 million ATS (approximately 25 million ECU.) In 1993, it was one of the founding members of the Academic Cooperation Association in Brussels.

In autumn 1990 ÖAD established the Office for European Educational Cooperation (*Büro für Europäische Bildungskooperation*, BEB) which was responsible for informing HEIs about the opportunities inherent in European mobility programmes and has since assumed responsibility for managing SOCRATES and LEONARDO. ÖAD also established an Office for International Relations *(Verbindungsstelle für Universitäre Auslandsbeziehungen)* responsible for coordinating regional efforts, such as the "priority area" in Central and Eastern Europe, the new bilateral Action Programmes, as well as a series of "traditional" bilateral agreements. This office also is involved in informing the national and the international public about educational opportunities abroad or in Austria, respectively; publishes brochures and periodicals for national and international distribution, (such as *"KOOPERATIONEN: Higher Education, Science and Research in Austria"*); is in the process developing its own Website; and serves as the national agency for ORTELIUS – The Database on Higher Education in Europe. The ÖAD Office for Development Cooperation (*Büro für Entwicklungszusammenarbeit*) is responsible for handling a variety of programmes for incoming students and scientists from developing countries.

Between 1970 and 1989, the total budget of the Ministry of Science increased ten-fold, and Austrian expenditures for the internationalisation of higher education increased correspondingly. In 1994, for example, ATS 215.9 million were allocated for the following international activities: ATS 66.4 million for scholarships for Austrian students and academics for study and research abroad (either granted by the universities themselves or by the Ministry); ATS 48 million for over 170 Austrian lecturers at foreign colleges and universities in over 40 countries; ATS 44 million for subsidies for exchanges under the auspices of university joint study programmes and ERASMUS national top-up scholarships; ATS 38 million for international scholarship programmes enabling foreigners to study and pursue research in

Austria; and ATS 19.5 million for the establishment and maintenance of university partnerships and international study programmes.

However, in the mid-1990s, a series of savings measures inspired by the demands of achieving the convergence criteria dictated by the Treaty of Maastricht led to budget restrictions, and the budget of the Ministry of Science and Transport has been reduced. This situation has led to cuts in certain areas, a trend that most likely will continue until the year 2000.

In the early 1990s individual federal provinces also started as promoters or sponsors of internationalisation. For example, Upper Austria has established a "Kepler-Internationalisierungs-Programm" for the Johannes Kepler University that is situated in the provincial capital of Linz, and the province of Salzburg has a "Salzburg 2000" programme for the HEIs in Salzburg. Although the dimension of the funding for these "provincial programmes" is exceptionally modest in comparison to federal funding, they document nonetheless a qualitative change of consciousness at the provincial level, where politicians and government officials are showing a greater preparedness to support "their" universities.

Major Changes in the Higher Education and Research Systems

Academic recognition systems

Equivalencies and transparency facilitate the recognition of academic work performed abroad and as such constitute the keys to successful academic mobility. Austria has signed relevant UNESCO and Council of Europe conventions on equivalencies and concluded bilateral agreements on equivalencies with seventeen states. Austrian participation in ERASMUS led to the promotion of ECTS, which began with an "inner circle" of five HEIs in 1992/93. One more university and two colleges for teacher training have since joined ECTS which was legally anchored in a major reform of university studies legislation in 1997.

Participation in COMETT necessitated developing modalities for the recognition of internships executed abroad and a revision of regulations regarding the employment of foreign students coming to Austria under the auspices of this programme.

Tuition policy

Austrian students study at HEIs on a tuition free basis, although the introduction of tuition is a recurrent and hot topic in the educational community. Foreign students are required to pay a fee of ATS 4,000 per semester, although this fee is waived in many cases. In the course of Austria's accession to the EEA and the EU, fees were waived for students from the respective member states. Students from developing countries, states that have bilateral waiver agreements with Austria, and recipients of Austrian government scholarships also do not have to pay tuition.

Teaching of (lesser-used) languages

The establishment of the European Centre for Modern Languages (ECML) in Graz, Styria, in 1995 represented an important innovation in the teaching of modern languages. The ECML is a pan-European platform and meeting place for professionals and officials involved in teacher training, language policy making or advising and research. Originally an initiative of Austria and the Netherlands, ECML was established under the patronage of and in cooperation with the Council of Europe. ECML places special emphasis on the issues of multilingualism and multiculturalism and promotes the teaching of less widely-spoken European languages.

In order to improve the quality and the breadth of the instruction of the languages of Central and Eastern Europe, lecturers from Bulgaria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, and Russia have been employed at relevant HEIs under the auspices of a variety of different agreements.

Use of non-national languages as a medium of instruction

Since 1989 it has been possible to instruct in foreign languages, subject to certain restrictions. However a major reform of university studies legislation in 1997 provides a greater number of opportunities to do so. The curricular commissions at the HEIs may determine whether or not specific courses may be taught in foreign languages and under certain conditions written academic work may be submitted in a foreign language.

Open and distance learning

The open and distance learning sector is historically underdeveloped in Austria. Since the early 1980s Austrian institutions have cooperated with the Fernuniversität Hagen (Germany) and in the 1990s they began to work with

the Open University (United Kingdom). Under the auspices of the European Association of Distance Teaching Universities (EADTU), they have been involved in major EU education programmes. The impact of new information technologies and European initiatives in education and training, such as the "Joint Call Multimedia," (January 1997) should provide innovative impulses for the development of this sector.

University organisation

In 1993 the Austrian Parliament amended the federal laws dealing with the organisation of university level institutions: the University Organisation Act (UOG). The ideas of deregulation and decentralisation are at the heart of the UOG 1993 which has redefined the relationship of the Ministry of Science and Transport to the universities by shifting a substantial number of responsibilities from the central, governmental level to that of the individual HEIs themselves. The resulting higher degree of autonomy, now in the process of implementation, should contribute to making Austrian HEIs more flexible, dynamic, efficient, and internationally competitive. This new legal framework provided HEIs with substantial latitude to establish their own priorities and should promote a more efficient use of resources. The universities remain state institutions, nevertheless, and the state retains its responsibility for financing them. The Ministry now assumes a predominantly supervisory function and continues to be responsible for strategic planning.

The non-university sector: Fachhochschulen

Universities have traditionally dominated post-secondary education in Austria which, unlike many other countries, did not develop a substantial sector of non-university tertiary institutions in the 1960s and 1970s but rather "opened up" its university sector in order to respond to the demographic and educational challenges of the times. In 1993 federal legislation provided the basis for the establishment of a *Fachhochschule* sector which represented the abandonment of the Austrian federal government's traditional monopoly on higher education. The Ministry of Science and Transport is not directly involved in the administration or articulation of *Fachhochschule* programmes which consist of eight semesters of career oriented vocational-technical training. The operations of these programmes are supervised, accredited and periodically reviewed by an independent agency of experts: the so-called *Fachhochschulrat*. Provinces, municipalities, professional chambers, and private organisations – or "joint venture" combinations thereof – may found and operate *Fachhochschule* programmes, provided they meet the formal and

qualitative criteria established by law. Thirty-three programmes have been established to date, and many of them are pursuing ambitious internationalisation programmes.

The Danube University of Krems

In 1993, federal legislation provided the foundation for the establishment of the Danube University of Krems (in Lower Austria) which went into operation at the beginning of the 1995/96 academic year. It is the only university in Austria that exclusively offers courses and programmes in post-graduate and continuing professional education.

The impact of internationalisation on policy

The University Organisation Act of 1993 fundamentally changed the structure of universities in Austria and provided them with the autonomy they need to articulate their own strategies. In 1997 a new University Studies Act made an equally profound change in the manner in which degree programmes will be organised at Austrian HEIs in the future. The University Organisation act changed the form of Austrian university education; the adoption and implementation of the University Studies Act will change its contents.

This body of legislation represents not only a substantial simplification of the legal regulations guiding curricular design and contents. It gives individual institutions a much greater freedom to develop programmes with specific requirements and distinct national and international profiles. It also streamlines the procedures for the recognition of academic work performed abroad. The University Studies Act also provides a legal anchor for ECTS; supports academic mobility by facilitating the recognition of academic work performed abroad; establishes the academic degree "Master of Advanced Studies" for the graduates of postgraduate university programmes; establishes the academic degree "Master of Business Administration" for the graduates of internationally comparable postgraduate university level programmes; and provides options for instructing at Austrian HEIs in languages other than German. Each of these individual points will facilitate the internationalisation of Austrian higher education in the future.

As the century draws to a close, the Austrian academic community has recognised that it is time to evaluate their own priorities and programmes

carefully. In the late 1980s, the major concern was to take advantage of the dual opportunities inherent in (western) European integration and the opening of the East. Internationalisation was seen not only as a response to dramatic changes in Europe; it also was a motor for domestic innovation and reform.

In the early 1990s formal and quantitative aspects of internationalisation appear to have been in the foreground: getting into European programmes and getting Austrian students and academics out of the country. However, since the mid-1990s and in view of the budget constraints that undoubtedly will restrict policies and programmes in the near future, there has been a growing concern about the quality of international activities. Austrian universities now enjoy an unprecedented amount of policy and budget autonomy but they have received it under less than auspicious circumstances. Ultimately, it will be up to the institutions themselves to make the most of their newly gained freedoms.

Denmark

Viggo Haarløv,
The Danish Rectors' Conference

General outline of the Danish national policy for internationalisation of higher education [1]

The framework for internationalisation

Internationalisation can be characterised as a process of transformation in which areas of activity are increasingly geared to operating in international surroundings, under international market conditions and with an international professional orientation.

Internationalisation has always been part of the higher education institutions' activities both within research and increasingly also within education. There is a growing incentive to have an international dimension included in higher education programmes, partly because of labour market stipulations to this effect and partly because social developments in general are heading towards a multicultural and more globally minded society. Finally, the labour market is becoming more and more internationally based.

While international research cooperation at formal and informal levels alike has very long-standing and powerfully entrenched traditions, the internationalisation of education has taken on new dimensions in the past ten years, both in the form of increased student and teacher mobility, and in

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[1] This report has been compiled from:

1. "Internationalisation of Higher Education in Denmark. A Debate Outline" published by The Danish Rectors' Conference 1997. The debate outline was drawn up by a working party formed by The Danish Rectors' Conference Committee for International Relations. The members of the working party were: *Hanne Engelund,* Head of Secretariat, The International Office, Aalborg University, *Bo Gregersen,* Head of Division, The International Office, Aarhus School of Business and *Helle Otte,* Head of Secretariat, The International Office, Odense University.

2. "Strategier for udvikling af den internationale dimension i uddannelserne" (in English: "Strategies for the development of the international dimension in the Danish educational system "). This book was a part of a statement to the Danish Parliament, the "Folketing" made March 12, 1997 by the Minister of Education, Mr. Ole Vig Jensen.

the form of a more international approach to the specialised content of many programmes. These initiatives and activities serve to consolidate the quality of the programmes and the international competitiveness of the final graduates.

In an internationalisation context, higher education and the Ph.D. programmes have evolved differently. The artificial division made by the EU programmes between education and research has contributed to this evolution. Where international mobility is concerned, the issues in Ph.D. programmes differ essentially from those characteristic of Bachelor's and Master's level. The automatic nature of the mechanisms governing exchange at the latter levels is not directly transferable to the Ph.D. level, where the qualitative requirements regarding a direct link with a research environment are crucial. The ERASMUS programme and its network model have therefore not been of any general use in relation to Ph.D. students.

In the 1980s, especially, internationalisation took the form of a reaction to external influences, particularly the European education programmes. Europeanisation was thus a new dimension that was added as a result of the EU-membership. To a lesser degree, internationalisation was thought out along the institutions' overall planning or strategy lines. Danish higher education institutions are now taking an active part in the internationalisation process, in forms including the partnerships anchored in the EU education and research programmes, bilateral cooperation agreements (also to an increasing extent outside of Europe) and other kinds of collaboration between university networks etc. The international dimension also makes its mark on domestic environments through foreign visiting professors, joint teaching projects etc.

The political and organisational division of labour

The formulation of actual strategies for internationalising Danish tertiary (further and higher) education is a comparatively recent phenomenon, and one which took off at the beginning of the nineties. There have always been international educational activities, including programme-based student mobility (the national cultural agreements, the Fulbright programme and so on). However, international student mobility was not highly visible in Denmark on any *major* scale until just under 10 years ago. And that is also why there has not been a pressing need to articulate an internationalisation

strategy as such, either at individual higher education institutions, or from a ministerial or any other national platform.

The need to redouble national efforts

The higher education institutions' efforts to internationalise have now reached such proportions that the individual institutions are compelled to prioritise and draw up action plans within the framework of an overall internationalisation strategy. In this respect, the institutions are experiencing a growing need to redouble national-level internationalisation efforts on several scores to provide a setting and support for their own internationalisation endeavours. And indeed, on a number of occasions, that need has also been formulated in a Rectors' Conference forum, e.g. at a conference on Higher Education and Internationalisation in September 1995, as well as during the Conference's discussion of internationalisation strategies on 4 June 1996.

The institutions' wishes for improved national internationalisation strategies can be grouped into three categories.

- First and foremost, there is a need to clarify national policy objectives and priorities, i.e. a need for a national strategy setting out society's wishes and requirements regarding the internationalisation of higher education.
- Secondly, a national internationalisation strategy presupposes that the barriers hampering the institutions' internationalisation endeavours will be broken down as much as possible. And all things considered, a national internationalisation strategy must necessarily take on board the education institutions' own wishes and capacities for internationalisation.
- At the same time, improved strategies are needed for the central players in the internationalisation process together with updated organisational structures, including the creation of new ones, wherever conducive to providing the necessary internationalisation of higher education in Denmark.

The present organisation of the Ministry's international work

At the Danish Ministry of Education, the international work is done by the individual departments dealing with the institutions. Yet the EU related affairs are coordinated by a special *Division for European Union Affairs*, which is in charge of general and interdepartmental EU policy assignments.

The EU Division is thus responsible for the Ministry's participation in collaborative educational ventures within the EU, including Denmark's participation in the EU Education Committee, which prepares the semi-annual meetings of ministers.

The UNESCO Secretariat is in charge of cooperation in dealings with UNESCO.

The individual departments dealing with the institutions (e.g. the Department of Higher Education) are in charge of international work pertaining specifically to the institutional area in question.

This means that, in principle, the Department of Higher Education is responsible for the SOCRATES/ERASMUS and LEONARDO (as for higher education institutions) programmes, the conventions on credits, equivalence and so on, as well as a number of information-related assignments. The Department has, however, opted to transfer the purely administrative part of a number of tasks – primarily programme administration – to The Danish Rectors' Conference Secretariat (RKS), while performing more policy-oriented tasks itself.

The body responsible for programme policy is thus the Department of Higher Education, under the Deputy Permanent Secretary, who is represented on the overarching SOCRATES Committee. Denmark's other seat on the overarching SOCRATES Committee is occupied by a representative of the Ministry, which also has a seat on the EU's Education Committee.

The Danish Rectors' Conference has been allocated a seat on the SOCRATES Higher Education Subcommittee together with a representative of the Ministry of Education's Department of Higher Education.

Rationales of Denmark's internationalisation policy

The need for international competence

It is the education system that must deliver highly qualified manpower to both public and private sectors. As society and the labour market become increasingly internationally orientated, there will be mounting pressure to augment the international component of the competence-building being

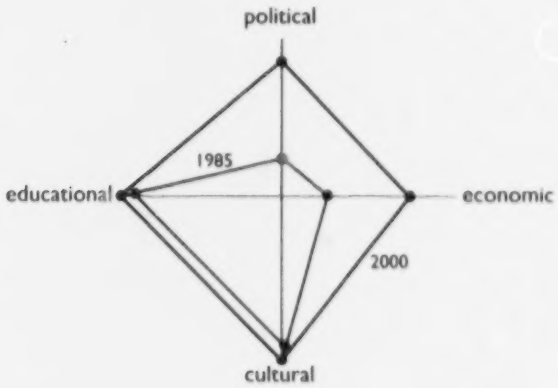
provided in the education system – both from the social partners and from the student body. If Danish graduates are to be able to assert themselves on an internationalised labour market, programmes must be geared to equipping them with academic as well as linguistic and intercultural qualifications that are internationally competitive.

The demand or need for such an international component of higher education programmes will certainly grow gradually, but steadily, once the introduction of the SOCRATES programme has seen the inclusion of the entire education system, from pre-school to tertiary level, in a European collaboration on education. The intention is to reinforce the presence of a European dimension throughout the education systems of Europe.

The fragile nature of internationalisation

The internationalisation process has been set in motion at the Danish institutions of higher education, though in many places it rests on a relatively fragile foundation. The majority of institutions have set up administrative staff functions in the form of international offices, and international work has thus had a reasonable anchorage in administrative terms. The running of international operations, however, can not be confined to a single administrative body. Internationalisation is gradually meshing largely with the administration of the institutions, where the necessary international competence is still in the construction phase. Another factor is that the reorganisation of teaching in a number of subjects to be conducted in a foreign language – English, especially – has in some cases led to qualitative problems due to insufficient linguistic ability on the part of the teachers involved.

In this connection, it should be mentioned that the academic aspect of internationalisation is often initiated and developed by enthusiastic teachers, who often make a great contribution to the field – and one, moreover, that unfortunately still goes unheeded in career terms, although possibilities for rewarding this type of academic activity are now gradually developing in the national salary system. Unless the problem of integrating international academic educational activities into the everyday life of the institutions is solved, the process of internationalising higher education institutions in Denmark will suffer considerably as a result.



Priorities in national policy

The Danish Minister of Education:
In connection with a debate in the Danish Folketing March 12, 1997 the Minister of Education, Mr. Ole Vig Jensen, stated for the whole educational system: "The international dimension shall be the brand name of the Danish educational system"... "We shall concentrate our efforts in order to put the international dimension on the top of the agenda – not only in the education debate, but at each education centre". *(note 1, 2)*

In a report to the Folketing in connection with the debate the minister treats all levels of education although only in very general terms. He identifies 4 priority areas:

1. teaching and the contents of the teaching
2. teachers
3. study and internship visits abroad for Danish pupils and students and visits of foreign students to Demark
4. information technology

1. Teaching and its contents. The international dimension should form a part of most study areas and educational programmes. The international dimension is a more natural element in some study areas than in others. Many initiatives are well under way for the development of the international

dimension. The minister intends to consider specific initiatives as a follow-up to the recommendations of the Rectors' Conference's debate outline *(note 1, 2).*

2. Teachers. All teachers shall be familiar with and qualified to work with an international dimension. Within the higher education and university sector teachers have for many years participated in international networks. This cooperation has recently been extended to the teachers of other advanced education areas.

3. Study and internship visits abroad for Danish pupils and students and visits of foreign students to Demark. Under this heading the minister mentions the following initiatives. Some are already in effect and some are recommended to start soon:

- The special appropriation of 5.000 DKK to higher education institutions for each outgoing and incoming student. Last year this cost on a national basis about 28 million DKK.
- For many years Danish students have been allowed to take their state student grants with them abroad. From 1 January 1996 this period has been extended from three to four years.
- A bill on housing, which permits the local authorities to allot up to 10 % of housing designated for youth to foreign exchange students.
- Strengthening of teaching in foreign languages.
- Strengthening of teaching in Danish culture and of Danish.
- Development of credit transfer systems like ECTS.
- Development of internationally understandable diplomas, eg. with the help of diploma supplements.

4. Information technology. The minister stresses the importance of information technology including Internet, information network etc.

Finally with reference to the Rectors' Conference's debate outline, the Minister underlines the importance of developing internationally competitive graduates and the significance of the building of networks between the institutions and industry and trade. The minister believes that every institution has to decide for itself, where it has its strong points and in a network cooperation with other national and international institutions to consider the best placement of each subject area.

The Danish Rectors' Conference :
In the Rectors' Conference's debate outline *(note 1, 1)* the following objectives and initiatives are mentioned:

It is the view of The Danish Rectors' Conference that internationalisation of higher education has the following objectives :

- to strengthen the quality of higher education in Denmark, both by developing the academic content of the programmes and by building up the international dimensions of the programmes, enhancing students' international qualifications, language proficiency and cultural understanding in the process
- to promote the competitiveness and mobility of Danish graduates
- in general, to promote the competitiveness of Danish higher education institutions on a global education market.

These objectives can only be accomplished by targeted action implemented in a coordinated and concerted effort with the Danish Ministry of Education. Such action should include initiatives at all levels, in particular:

a) the individual higher education institution
b) The Danish Rectors' Conference
c) the relevant ministries.

These initiatives should include:

1. *At the individual higher education institution:*
   academic development, promoting:
   a) the qualitative content of the programmes
   b) participation in international programmes in collaboration with foreign education institutions, including the organisation of foreign-language study programmes
   c) increased teacher and student mobility.

2. *At ministerial and institutional level:*
   linguistic and cultural measures to secure the international ranking of the Danish linguistic and cultural area on the one hand, and to promote Danish students' knowledge of other linguistic and cultural environments on the other.

3. *At ministerial and Rectors' Conference level:*
   joint initiatives under a European and international banner to ensure the visibility of, as well as understanding and respect for, Danish higher education and higher education institutions.

4. *At ministerial and Rectors' Conference level:*
   measures to secure Danish higher education institutions and policy-makers maximum influence on education policy at European and international level.

5. *At ministerial level:*
   economic measures to underpin both curriculum development and international mobility.

6. *At ministerial level:*
   measures to ensure the removal of barriers hampering the international mobility of teachers and students, and mutual recognition of the educational qualifications acquired.

The Danish Rectors' Conference proposals for implementation are outlined in the debate outline *(note 1)* and include the setting up of working parties formed by the Ministry of Education and The Danish Rectors' Conference.

Policy development, its implementation, and the interaction between national policy and international initiatives

Ministerial internationalisation committee

The first moves towards a Danish strategy debate in the field were taken at the end of the eighties, when the Danish Ministry of Education formed a committee on the internationalisation of higher education (the so-called Hermansen Committee). During its term of office, the committee specifically dealt with general and interdisciplinary questions relating to the internationalisation of higher education and framed views on the problems concerning the needs of the recipient institutions, the internationalisation of the teaching corps, and work experience and study visits abroad. In addition, the Committee supported the implementation of the COMETT

and ERASMUS programmes as well as the NORDPLUS programme, and advised on guidelines for the use of the special internationalisation fund set up by the Ministry of Education in 1987 for allocation between the universities and institutions of higher education under the Ministry's Department of Research. Earmarked for student scholarships to fund study periods abroad (75%) and other international educational activities, including international networking, language courses and so on, the fund was index-adjusted only after the first awards had been made. After 1993 these resources were included in the institutions' ordinary budget in non-itemised form.

Finally, the Committee dealt with the organisation of the institutions' international work, taking its terms of reference from the discussions at a working seminar held on the Sandbjerg Estate in April 1988 on the organisation of international work pertaining to programmes of higher education.

New ministerial incentives – but no national strategy

In autumn 1989, the Ministry abolished the Internationalisation Committee. Partly because the internationalisation process at the individual education institutions was felt to be so far under way that there was no longer a need for start-up incentives, and partly because the Committee's brief was taken over by other consultative or administrative bodies (e.g. the ERASMUS Ad Hoc Committee).

Internationalisation thus enjoyed the favour of the Ministry relatively early on, considering that the process did not really get off the ground until the end of the eighties. Not in the sense that the Ministry formulated actual strategies in the field, but rather that it played a pioneering role in the economic and debating forum during the initial years, when internationalisation was sometimes based only on the commitment and resources of individual teachers, none of whom were accorded academic or pecuniary recognition for their efforts.

At the same time, it should be noted that the Ministry's initiatives were clearly influenced by the EU's 1987 initiative to set up a programme for the internationalisation (read: europeanisation) of higher education in Europe: the ERASMUS programme. The influence of the ERASMUS programme on the ministerial fund is also distinctly visible, inter alia in their relatively

similar phrasing of the criteria for granting scholarships which were not limited to study in Europe. The same can also be said of the NORDPLUS programme. Programmes – albeit less bureaucratic ones – parallel to the European one were created, as it were, with a view to reinforcing cooperation with the rest of the world, and the Nordic countries in particular, without considering it necessary to modify and tailor the concept to non-EU-specific forms of collaboration.

If internationalisation enjoyed the good graces of the Ministry early on, conversely the Ministry must also be said to have been quick to let go of its control over the internationalisation process and leave its development to the individual institutions in accordance with their autonomy, as regards the formulation of goals and policies. So the Ministry's incentives certainly carried on through the first half of the nineties, when important initiatives were taken to consolidate the international dimension of higher education. Firstly, there were improvements in the state education grant and loan scheme, enabling students to take their funding abroad; and secondly, there was the entire Ph.D. reform, whereby not only was Danish postgraduate research training adapted to international structures but Danish research students were also given an ideal opportunity for studying abroad. Most recently, in 1996, the Ministry has again granted internationalisation financial support by introducing the so-called international mobility taximeter grant. However important the initiatives involved, it must be stated that they are just that – isolated initiatives, and as such they do not stem from or form part of any overall, declared national strategy for the field.

Programme internationalisation – a professional and institutional matter

At the time of its abolition, the ministerial internationalisation committee had recommended that the education-specific tasks related to internationalisation work be continued by the former advisory committees to the Ministry. The Advisory Committee to the Danish Ministry of Education on Social Sciences (FLUSA) rose to the occasion and formed an internationalisation committee, which was perpetuated under the National Advisory Board for the Social Sciences when the advisory committees were superseded by the state educational councils. The committee organised a conference on the internationalisation of the social sciences study programmes, which led to the drafting of a report on the internationalisation of the

same in December 1991. In other kinds of programmes and sectors, as well, reports and reviews were drafted and conferences were held on internationalisation.

One cannot help but observe, however, that while the debates, conferences and reports have certainly provided inspiration for the international commitment of individual institutions, and hence had an indirect influence on the design of some institutions' internationalisation strategies, they have not resulted in the formulation of strategies and national action plans as such.

Barriers to the internationalisation of higher education

While it is obviously up to the higher education institutions themselves to enhance the quality of their academic activities – including further development of the requisite internationalisation – the interaction of society is required if the institutions are to succeed in overcoming as many as possible of the barriers obstructing the process of recruiting and attracting qualified foreign students and, more particularly, highly qualified teachers.

The basic working premise must be an understanding that foreign students and researchers will not naturally queue up to obtain longer-term residential study periods in Denmark. A certain amount of special effort is therefore called for. This applies at local and regional level, where it is imperative to ensure that the general attempts being made to showcase large university cities with attractive housing conditions and leisure facilities etc. also include international students and visiting professors and researchers. It is particularly important, however, to institute interaction with official authorities, like *the ministries, including the Ministry of Education.* It is thus recommended in the Debate Outline *(note 1, 1)* that a thorough study be carried out into the legislative and administrative conditions impacting negatively on Danish institutions' potential for attracting and recruiting foreign students and academic staff, with a view to eliminating as many of these factors as possible. This applies to fields such as *tax, pensions, residence permits, housing, and the opportunities and amenities offered to accompanying families.*

The Debate Outline further stresses that within the education system, too, a special effort is needed. As pointed out in the Danish Ministry for Research's white paper on a national research strategy, Denmark's involvement

in international cooperation will function most smoothly if its system is not critically different from that of its collaboration partners. This makes demands in terms of the *structure of Danish higher education programmes, the wage and post structure, and the grant structure.*

Effects on the higher education system

Higher education in Denmark has an obligation to educate graduates with international qualifications to form an internationally competitive labour force and to meet the competition on the open education market of the future. This will mean modifying the institutions' concept of education to include educating an international target group as well as relating in future at both institutional and national level to the concept of "the multinational university", which in line with the multinational companies is establishing departments or branches in different countries. The American universities in particular are operating with this form of internationalisation; and the trend is also visible in Denmark, where foreign institutions have established a presence, with all the quality and competence-related problems that this entails, while Danish institutions have not yet rethought internationalisation along such lines.

Summary and look ahead

Although the internationalisation process at the Danish institutions is well under way, there are still major problem areas that need to be dealt with and clarified at both national and institutional level in order to ensure that Danish higher education institutions can supply internationally competitive programmes enabling graduates to function optimally on the national and international labour markets alike *(note 1, 1)*.

The Debate Outline *(note 1, 1)* highlights the need to develop a national internationalisation strategy proper and summarises the policy and strategy to be taken in the following:

1. Internationalisation is crucial to the competitiveness of Danish higher education institutions on the international education market of the future and hence to their ability to honour their national commitment to Danish society and to the business community by educating internationally competitive graduates.

2. Internationalisation of education programmes should be based on professionalism and quality, and should form an integral part of both institutional and national internationalisation strategies.

3. Internationalisation does not come about of its own accord, and existing internationalisation activities are often built on a fragile foundation. Special efforts are therefore needed to secure international influence for Danish higher education programmes to prevent Denmark from turning into a fringe area in the field of international education.

4. An action-oriented language policy strategy should exist, taking into account the national language on the one hand and, on the other hand, the competitiveness of institutions on the international education market and their scope for involvement in international collaboration.

5. Special action is needed to profile Danish education programmes and education institutions. This action should be targeted and coordinated in relation to other areas of national policy commitment.

Finland

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The cornerstones of Finnish education policy

The Finnish education policy is based on the overall principle of lifelong learning, with special emphasis on raising the educational level of the population, renewing educational contents, improving equality of opportunity and increasing the possibilities for optionality and individual choice. The most important development objectives are enhancement of quality and internationalisation, streamlining the educational system, ensuring the appropriate resources and combating unemployment by means of education. This takes place through offering an opportunity to post-compulsory education for everyone and promoting tighter links between education and the working life (Council of State Development Plan for Finnish Education and Research 1995-2000; Higher Education Policy in Finland 1994; 1996).

A special point of emphasis in higher education policy over the past ten years has been to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of higher education. The average length of university studies (which has been prolonged as compared to most other European countries) has been reduced by means of better tutoring and introducing flexibility in the course contents. Also the maximum length of financial study support provided by the state has been reduced.

A new philosophy of "management by results" has been introduced to higher education policy. Furthermore, forms of evaluation and assessment have been implemented – ranging from internal self-evaluation of the institutions to disciplinary national and international evaluations. The objective has been to develop internationally competitive quality education on all fields. Other significant reforms have included the establishment of a polytechnic (**ammattikorkeakoulu, amk**) sector next to the traditional university institutions. This has been done by amalgamating former vocational colleges and upgrading the level of their teaching. The first experimental polytechnics have already gained a permanent status and new institutions are founded on a temporary basis. By the year 2000, Finland will have around 30

multidisciplinary institutions of vocational higher education. The ultimate, ambitious objective is to offer higher education in either universities or polytechnics to two thirds of each age group.

In addition to this, lower academic degrees (bachelor's) have been re-introduced in most university disciplines as intermediate degrees before the "basic degree" – the M.A. or M.Sc. Through this revision of degree structure, greater international compatibility has been sought.

General outline of the national policy for internationalisation of higher education[1]

Until the mid-1980s, Finnish universities had few schemes of international educational exchange. Co-operation was mainly informal and based on personal contacts between individual professors and researchers. On the other hand, there was academic exchange based on intergovernmental cultural agreements. However, during the last ten years the approach to internationalisation – on both institutional and governmental level – has grown more active. Next to the traditional linkages, the Finnish universities have participated in large exchange programmes and initiated strategic planning of international activities.

The internationalisation policy of Finnish higher education has been greatly influenced by Finland's gradual approach to the European Community. Political interest in internationalising education increased in the wake of the 1984 Luxembourg declaration, where the co-operation among EC and EFTA countries (and Finland, on the basis of the so-called Finn-EFTA agreement) was intensified on several subject areas, including scientific co-operation. The next important step was Finland's EFTA membership in 1986. Finland participated in the European Economic Area from the beginning of 1994, and achieved a full EU membership from the beginning of 1995.

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[1] In this paper only internationalisation of **education** – student and staff exchanges, curricular and administrative innovations etc. – is addressed. International **research** cooperation is excluded from the report.

There is no single document spelling out "the internationalisation policy of Finnish higher education". However, from official sources (the Council of State Development Plans for Finnish Education and Research, government committee reports and memoranda of Ministry of Education's working groups), one can compose a coherent picture of the strategy and measures adopted.

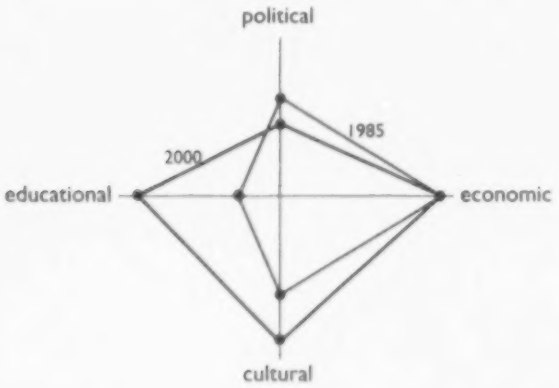
Finland started the negotiations on accession to COMETT and ERASMUS already on the basis of EFTA membership (MoE 1987). The rights of participation were granted after prolonged negotiations in 1990 and 1991, respectively. The government's drive to foster integration into the "European higher education community" has continued after this: full membership finally opened all European educational programmes for Finland. Apart from European integration, other significant causes for internationalisation have been positive experiences on developing international activities in higher education from other Nordic countries, and intensifying demands for increased co-operation from the part of industry and employers.

Rationales of Finnish higher education's internationalisation policy

From the mid-1980s onwards, the main reason underlying the internationalisation policy has been **preparation for and adaptation to ever intensifying international interaction**. The dramatic changes in Finland's foreign policy situation and simultaneous growth in the country's international trade and investments have been perceived as internationalisation of the nation itself in general terms. This, it has been claimed, also demands internationalisation from the educational sector.

More specifically, most official statements on internationalisation of higher education concentrate on one or both of two reasons: 1) responding to the needs of the economy through producing graduates with a European outlook and internationally competitive skill levels, and 2) improving the knowledge and understanding of foreign languages and cultures in order to promote peaceful coexistence and combat racism and prejudice.

During the 1990s, these general objectives have increasingly started to reflect the statements of the European Union, which rest on three pillars: 1) facilitating the free mobility of persons on the internal market through better recognition of foreign studies and degrees and increased academic mobility, 2) producing better human resources through quantitatively and qualitatively improved education and 3) developing a sense of European citizenship or "European identity". However, the latter aspect has so far been less pronounced in Finnish statements.



Priorities in the national policy

Target countries and trans-national regions

The "internationalisation boom" of Finnish higher education has above all been concentrated on co-operation with EU countries. However, the Finnish universities also have extensive extra-European contacts and schemes. The most natural and traditional parties of co-operation are the other Nordic countries. Co-operation has been co-ordinated under the Nordic Council and the subordinated Nordic Council of Ministers.

"The Nordic dimension" is a pronounced aspect of Finnish foreign policy. In the domain of higher education, the Nordic Council of Ministers has since 1988 administered the exchange programme NORDPLUS. This programme was largely designed after the model offered by ERASMUS. The reason for organising Nordic academic co-operation in the first place was to gain experiences for future wider European co-operation. There is also a corresponding programme for trainee exchanges in the field of technology, NORDTEK.

As a result of decades of foreign political balancing between the East and the West, the Finnish educational institutions have also established close contacts with **Central and Eastern European** universities. Exchanges were for a long time largely based on formal cultural exchange agreements, due to the state-controlled nature of the socialist countries' higher education systems. In the case of the Soviet Union, the lively exchange of student, teachers and experts

was also controlled by a specific institute in Finland. In the late 1980s and early 1990s exchanges with CCEE-countries to some extent dried up as a result of political instability in these countries. Recently, revitalised trade with Russia – and the strategic position of Finland on the easternmost border of the EU – has been reflected as a new policy to encourage academic exchanges and the learning of Russian (MoE 1995a). Finland is very actively involved in the European TACIS and PHARE programmes. On the other hand, academic co-operation with newly independent Estonia – and to a lesser degree with the other Baltic states – has become easier and received popularity as "co-operation among sister nations".

Research and educational co-operation with the **United States of America** also has long traditions, especially in the form of Fulbright professorships and scholarships, and the ISEP (International Student Exchange Programme), initiated in the mid-1980s. Finland has also been active in the newly established EU/US and EU/Canada programmes. The geopolitical situation of Finland next to Russia has increased interest on the part of the Americans. Co-operation with less developed countries in **Africa, South America and Asia** has largely taken the form of development aid, which some Finnish universities have taken as a matter of honour. Since the late 1980s, interest in educational and scientific co-operation with the developing economies of the **South-Eastern Asia** (especially Japan, China and the Republic of Korea; more recently Malaysia, Thailand and Indonesia) has also increased.

National target institutions and levels

Internationalisation is a priority on all educational levels. According to the official policy, the basis for international co-operation is laid in the comprehensive and upper secondary school (Developments in Education 1990-1992). However, these activities have clearly been most strongly developed in the universities. Originally, the approach chosen for the internationalisation of higher education institutions was predominantly centred on student exchange, while the policy for vocational training institutes equally emphasised trainee exchanges and a wide-ranging internationalisation of curricula (MoE 1989a; MoE1989b). This difference in approaches has grown narrower during the 1990s, as the international activities of the universities have diversified and more and more vocational institutes have been admitted in the large exchange programmes.

National target groups

Exchanges of both students and teachers have been recommended from the outset. However – apparently due to the structure of the EU's programmes – student exchange has been clearly more developed in most institutions of higher education. Teacher exchange is sometimes regarded as "second degree co-operation", which will in optimal cases result from student exchange arrangements. No quantitative objectives for teacher exchange have been set, which has perhaps resulted in milder interest. The situation is slightly different in the polytechnic sector, where international activities have been developed rapidly from scratch; staff visits have been a necessary precondition for the establishment of exchange agreements.

Teacher exchange has also been regarded as an important possibility to internationalise in disciplines, where course structures make recognised student exchanges difficult to organise. Interestingly, it has been much better in balance than student exchange. At least at the university level, there are actually more incoming than outgoing teachers.

As a rule, government committees and Ministry's working groups settle for "encouraging" or "recommending" other forms of educational co-operation – curriculum development, language teaching and joint intensive courses. Specific orders or target figures are seldom brought forward. Trainee exchanges have been more numerous than student exchanges in some universities of technology and schools of economics and business administration.

Target fields and subject areas of co-operation

Internationalisation is a priority in all disciplines, since it has been perceived that the amount of international contacts and "international occupations" increases in all professional areas (MoE 1988). However, the objectives for co-operation may vary according to the field of study. For example, the need for internationalisation of technological fields and economics is often seen as accruing from the needs of the economy. On the other hand, the role of the humanities and social sciences may be interpreted as safeguarding the Finnish culture while learning to understand other cultures and societal models in the integrating Europe. Furthermore, the process of internationalisation has apparently encountered least obstacles in some subjects naturally susceptible to co-operation (languages, translation studies). In some disciplines, the nationally controlled nature of qualifications has caused problems (law, teacher training).

It is also hoped that foreign exchange students would choose to study in Finland in subject areas, which have developed exceptionally strongly in our country ("flagship" disciplines). These include biotechnology, industrial design and forestry, amongst others (MoE 1989a). The decision of whether or not to prioritise certain areas or not in international co-operation has been left to the universities themselves.

Infrastructure

The overall responsibility for fostering internationalisation of higher education lies with the Ministry of Education. The administration of operative tasks has been delegated to the Centre for International Mobility, founded in 1991. The Centre was originally created through assembling international exchange officers from several ministries to one unit. This took place as part of an overall drive to decentralise and rationalise state administration, also through separating operative and consultative functions from policy-making structures. The more specific reasons behind the establishment of the Centre were twofold: 1) the greatly expanded volume of exchanges and 2) the existence of corresponding units in most important co-operative countries. Today, CIMO operates as an independent service and advisory unit. During its history of more than five years, it has expanded progressively.

The establishment of posts of international officers and international units in the higher education institutions has been recommended by the Ministry of Education since the late 1980s (MoE 1988). Today, all universities and most of the polytechnics have a person responsible for the administration of international affairs. Most of the universities have set up an international unit or office and appointed a board of international affairs for the overall supervision of these affairs. All universities have also appointed one or more research officers, who are responsible for the overall administration of international research funding (EU research programmes etc.), counselling and liaison functions.

Policy development

The key objectives for internationalisation of Finnish higher education were set by the Ministry of Education back in the late 1980s. In 1987, the Ministry sent to the universities a memorandum on the issue, with appropriate recommendations for developing international activities – student, trainee and teacher exchanges, credit recognition, co-operation in curriculum

development, improved language learning, development co-operation and internationalism vis-à-vis study materials. However, no quantitative objectives for mobility were set (MoE 1987).

In 1988, the Ministry of Education published a memorandum on the administration of student exchanges in which exchange opportunities for as many undergraduate students as possible and preferably for all postgraduate students were called for. According to the Ministry's working group, the prospects of multilateral programmes seemed promising. However, as these were likely to remain limited in scope for some time, several proposals for promoting student exchange on a bilateral or non-formal basis were brought forward. (MoE 1988.)

In 1989 the Ministry published a memorandum on developing international exchanges in universities. It was recommended, that all institutions of higher learning develop student mobility. This document also included an objective of annually 5000 students participating in exchanges by the end of the 1990s. Subsequently, this target figure has been alternatively interpreted as one third or one fifth of enrolling students – depending on the expected annual intake of the universities. In any case, these figures clearly exceed the 10 per cent objective long cherished by the European Commission. The working group responsible for this memorandum also anticipated that the scope of EC programmes would remain modest for the foreseeable future and thus called for massive funding from the state and from private and public foundations. In addition to exchanges, it also proposed an active policy for establishing modular teaching in foreign languages on the strong areas of each university. This would be necessary for satisfying the reciprocity criteria of many exchange programmes. (MoE 1989a.)

In December 1992, a memorandum on the operation of ERASMUS in Finland was published by the Ministry of Education. In this document, the mobility target figure within the programme was raised considerably from 250-300 to 1000-1200 students annually. This was apparently due to the progressive enlargement of the programme itself. However, it also reflected a realisation that the poor economic situation and the adverse financial development of the universities was likely to prevent national parties from allocating substantial funding to internationalisation. (MoE 1992b.)

Other important statements of the 1990s include a committee report on the establishment of a Centre for International Mobility (CR 1990), two

memoranda of the Ministry of Education on the situation of foreign students (MoE 1990; MoE 1991) and several memoranda on participation in the programmes of the EU and recognition of studies and diplomas (MoE 1992a; MoE 1994; Raivola 1994; Pystynen 1995; Nupponen & Virpiö 1993; MoE 1995b; MoE 1995c). The following chapter is devoted to points of emphasis deduced from the documents.

Policy implementation

As has been mentioned, the political responsibility for developing Finnish higher education policy lies within the department of higher education and research of the Ministry of Education. The general guidelines for higher education policy are set by the Council of State (the cabinet of ministers) in its development plans for Finnish education and research, which are usually approved for a period of six years but may be revised during the planning period.

The provision of assistance and expertise on international educational co-operation has been delegated to the Centre for International Mobility[2], which maintains contacts with diverse liaison groups: ministries, universities and other educational institutions, enterprises, employment agencies, associations and societies, professional organisations, as well as international agencies. The latter include above all the European Commission and various organisations operating in the field of international education (ACA, EAIE, NAFSA, NUFFIC, DAAD, HsV etc.) The main fields of responsibility of CIMO include: exchange of postgraduate students and experts through various scholarship programmes, co-ordination of most of the EU's educational programmes (national office in the diverse parts of SOCRATES, TEMPUS, YOUTH FOR EUROPE, EVS, EURATHLON and KARO-LUS; information responsibility on ACE, ALFA, EU/US, EU/CANADA,

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[2] CIMO hosts an extensive reference library with almost 3500 publications, reference material from over 40 countries, international periodicals and newspapers, appropriate databases and WWW-services. There are more than 3000 visitors annually and an equal number of contacts are made through letter or e-mail. The Centre has a free, automatic telephone service (10 000 contacts annually) and a specific fee-paying telephone service (4500 contacts). Furthermore, CIMO actively disseminates information to the diverse liaison groups in the form of newsletters, programme guidebooks, a periodical and other publications. It also operates as a National Resource Centre, responsible for networking and the training of representatives of educational institutions, enterprises and administration.

JEAN MONNET, MED-CAMPUS and LEONARDO DA VINCI), co-ordination of international trainee exchanges organised by student and professional organisations, and acting as a national centre of resources and expertise in the field of international education.

The board of CIMO is appointed by the Ministry of Education and chaired by a representative of the Ministry. In addition to Ministry and CIMO staff representation, the board currently has a member from the Ministry of Labour and from the National Board of Education. The Centre also has a consultative committee, which is chaired by a representative of the academic community. Representation has been secured to ministries, universities, polytechnics, enterprises, labour market organisations and student and youth organisations.

Another important player on the field is the National Board of Education, which operates as an independent expert organisation under the supervision of the Ministry of Education. The board hosts a Leonardo Centre (formerly a COMETT-centre under the Helsinki University of Technology), set up to co-ordinate most aspects of the EU's LEONARDO DA VINCI programme. The board also has an international unit, which is responsible for the development of international activities in the field of general education and certain information activities.

International affairs are also collegially managed among other issues in the various permanent advisory committees operating under the auspices of Ministry of Education; one should mention the tripartite committee on vocational training, the committee on educational planning and the committee on foreign studies. For important development decisions a specific temporary committee or working group is usually set up in the Ministry. In addition to the parties mentioned above, representation or consultation is often requested from other ministries, the Academy of Finland and the national body responsible for student sponsorship. As a rule, comments are requested from the higher education institutions on affairs directly affecting them.

The Ministry of Education also hosts a section of the committee for EU affairs responsible for education, vocational training and recognition of professional competencies. This section may assemble either as a group of civil servants or in a broader composition, where representatives of the various interest groups are present. The Finnish permanent representative in

the EU's education committee is presently the secretary-general of this section.

The funding decisions have largely been delegated to the universities and other educational institutions, as the Ministry of Education has assumed the practice of management by results, where a lump sum budget payment is addressed to the universities annually. The amount of funding is subject to annual budget negotiations between the Ministry and the universities. However, the Ministry also has a small special fund from which assistance for the development of international activities in higher education may be requested. CIMO is responsible for the administration of funds in the programmes under its jurisdiction.

Monitoring and evaluation of international activities is still in its early phase: so far it has mainly taken place through informal channels or sporadic formal meetings. There has been little substantial research on the area. One of the most pressing problems in this regard has been the non-uniform manner of data collection and compilation of statistics in the educational institutions themselves. However, the Ministry of Education has given attention to this problem and published a memorandum with appropriate directives on this issue (MoE 1996). The results of this are already visible in the form of more coherent and up-to-date statistics, assembled by CIMO.

The funding of international activities

Internationalisation of higher education is typically a labour and information intensive process; funding plays a smaller role. Furthermore, it has proven difficult to obtain information on the funding of international activities from the higher education institutions. There may not be a budget heading of "international affairs". Rather, international activities – however they may be defined in each case – are funded like any other issues from the general budgets for research, teaching and administration.

From the national budgets one can deduce, that funding of international activities has increased. Appropriations that were previously rigorously determined for certain clearly defined activities can now increasingly be used for international activities, amongst other things. However, there seems to be a time-gap between outspoken policy priorities and financial measures. As an example of figures, one might mention the budget appropriation from the state to the Centre for International Mobility, which increased from 8.2 million FIM to 28.2 million during 1992-1997. In 1997, more than 30

million FIM of additional funding is expected from other sources (the European Commission, the Nordic Council of Ministers, enterprises, other domestic sources), raising the Centre's total budget to about 58.4 million. Approximately half of the funds will be used on mobility grants for exchange students, teachers and trainees.

Since the late 1980s, there have been national financial measures to complement and prepare for transnational programmes. In 1989, as Finnish accession to COMETT and ERASMUS was postponed, the Ministry of Education initiated a pilot scheme of bilateral student exchanges (MoE 1989a). Under this scheme, exchanges with British, German and French universities were supported by national funds. Finland also participated in the EU's programmes YOUTH FOR EUROPE and TEMPUS on its own funding before full membership.

However, one must note that the national measures for internationalisation – for example universities' own funds for study abroad grants – have remained very limited. This has apparently been due to the exceptionally deep economic recession Finland faced in the early 1990s. As a result of this, budgets of the higher education institutions were cut down, too. Internationalisation still seems to some extent like an ad hoc activity – which is concentrated on only when there is sufficient funding for other tasks – rather than an all-out principle and an inherent property of all higher education.

Effects of internationalisation on the higher education system

Introduction of academic credit recognition

Credit recognition is dealt with in all official documents concerning internationalisation. Finnish higher education institutions have participated eagerly in the EU's ECTS programme and utilised the programme's innovations also on a voluntary basis. The principle of full recognition of foreign studies upon return to sending institution is also institutionalised in the Nordic NORDPLUS programme. On an unofficial level, the overall attitude towards recognition of foreign studies seems to have become ever more favourable. The initial suspiciousness of many academics concerning the quality of university and polytechnic teaching in many countries seems to be dissolving. However, sporadic reviews of internationalisation policies by the universities themselves reveal considerable institution-specific variation in this respect.

Teaching of (lesser-used) languages

All other languages apart from Swedish, English and German have traditionally been regarded as "rare" in the Finnish education system. The 1990s have seen an increasing interest in Western European languages (especially French), and in Russian (MoE 1994; MoE 1995a). This has been due to Finland approaching the EU and revitalised trade relations with its Eastern neighbour. Study of these languages and cultures was encouraged by two working groups of the Ministry of Education, which also made decisions on allocating specific funds for this aim in 1994.

Interest in other major world languages (especially Arabic and Asian languages) has also increased and been encouraged by the State during recent years. The EU's persistent policy of favouring the teaching of least used and taught languages is just emerging in the Finnish education policy: it is visible in the budget priorities for 1997. The Ministry of Education has recently published a strategy programme for language teaching and internationalisation of education in which expansion and diversification of language learning on all educational levels is sought (MoE 1997). This would take place through international co-operation projects and creating financial incentives for language learning.

Use of non-national languages as a medium of instruction

The language to be used in university teaching is fixed in the university legislation to be either Finnish, Finnish or Swedish or only Swedish (in two of Finland's universities). However, other languages may be used on special grounds. In reality, all universities and polytechnics have started to recognise the need to offer courses in major European languages (read: in English) for foreign students. It is impossible to assess the extent to which undergraduate and postgraduate teaching as a whole takes place in foreign languages. However, statistics have been produced by CIMO on international programmes (either degree or otherwise) in Finnish higher education. The number of such programmes in the university sector increased from 68 to 142 between the academic years 1992-93 and 1995-96. In the polytechnic sector, the number increased from zero to 69.[3] The development of university teaching in foreign languages was supported by the Ministry of Education

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[3] Information on these programmes is offered annually in CIMO's "Study in Finland. International Programmes in Finnish Higher Education".

with special funds during the late 1980s and early 1990s (MoE 1989a). Similar funding on the polytechnic sector has continued after this.

Growth has been most impressive in non-degree "area studies" -programmes, which can usually also be included in the degrees by Finnish students as minor subjects. Secondly, in the natural and medical sciences many Finnish universities have pooled their resources to found postgraduate programmes for foreign students in collaboration.

In the polytechnic sector, rapidly established international programmes have even more strongly concentrated on short-term non-degree programmes, usually consisting of 3 to 5 modules. However, there are also some B.Sc. programmes. 90 per cent of all programmes are organised in the fields of economics and business administration, engineering, technology and architecture, or nursing, health care and social welfare.

In addition to this, most Finnish institutions of higher education offer a course of "Finnish for foreigners" (or a Swedish equivalent) for those incoming students who wish to pursue their studies in the native languages. Many of them also have a non-degree package of "Finnish Culture and Society", concentrating on the humanities and social sciences.

International curricula

The inclusion of international aspects into teaching contents is also a policy priority. However, it is difficult to assess to what extent "the international dimension" or "the European dimension" has been absorbed into undergraduate curricula. Most universities offer multidisciplinary modules or packages of "European studies" to be included in basic degrees. Also other "area studies" modules have proliferated (see above). Multiculturalism is pronounced especially in humanities, social sciences and educational science curricula.

Open and distance learning

The scope of open higher learning exploded in Finland from the 1980s onwards. Finland does not have a single "open university" as does for example the United Kingdom. Instead, currently every university hosts a "Centre for Extension Studies", which in many cases operates in several locations. Open universities and summer academies currently offer education on dozens of places of business for about 100 000 students each year. This

almost equals the figure enrolled in full-time university education. The clientele mainly falls into three categories: 1) mature students studying for self-improvement, 2) those active in working life who are seeking additional professional skills and qualifications and 3) newly matriculated youth preparing for university studies. Distance learning has developed more slowly in Finland. However, the Government currently has great expectations concerning distance education and the affiliated use of new technologies (as does the EU).

Transferability of student grants

The legislation on national student support was revised in 1994. According to the new law and regulation, support may be granted to Finns, who undertake a whole degree course abroad. Through this reform, better possibilities for international mobility were sought. Private and public bodies which grant scholarships for postgraduate study usually take a liberal stand vis-à-vis transferability.

Some results of the internationalisation policy

"The internationalisation of Finnish society" (or indeed of the world) has during the past ten years been increasingly used as one of many arguments in legitimations for changes in education policy. As an ultimate example, the creation of a whole new educational sector (the polytechnics) has already been mentioned. However, it is difficult to assess to what extent the policy reforms and educational innovations have actually been motivated by any real increase in international interaction.

The principle of internationalisation in its various aspects has penetrated Finnish educational planning. The Finnish education system has rapidly transformed from a very "closed" one (in terms of foreign students and student mobility) into one of the most "open" in Europe. Internationalisation has remained on the list of pronounced priority areas of government education policy. This has usually appeared as distinct encouragement in the form of additional funding etc. The target of 5000 undergraduate students participating in exchanges annually has been approached steadily. For the academic year 1997-98, the Finnish higher education institutions have planned to send 6320 students and 1670 teachers through the SOCRATES programme alone. The take-up rate of student exchanges has so far been among the best in Europe; about two thirds of the planned exchanges have

been realised. Also the balance among incoming/outgoing students has improved steadily. Finland has been active in other forms of co-operation within SOCRATES, as well. In the academic year 1996/97 there are 504 planned teacher exchanges. Figures for further activities are available from the previous year; in 1995/96, Finnish universities participated in 128 intensive courses and 100 curriculum development projects.

Internationalisation (student and teacher exchange, participation in multilateral programmes) is one criteria for allocating the so-called **performance funds** for universities. These funds currently constitute only about 5 per cent of the overall funding of universities. However, they carry a significant status value. As a result of this management practice, some institutions have also initiated their own rewarding procedures, in which internationalisation is often employed as one criterion.

However, as a result of this active policy, internationalisation has also become an imperative: all disciplines and all higher education institutions must develop international activities for avoid being perceived as reactionary. For example, progressively rising target figures for student and teacher exchange have been assigned to the universities in the annual budget negotiations with the Ministry of Education. The approach has so far concentrated on quantity, rather than quality. There is a danger that if internationalisation is amply rewarded in financial terms inside the institutions, the new drive to produce impressive student exchange statistics at any cost will start to play a distortive effect on other activities.

Conclusions

The overall attitude regarding internationalisation of Finnish higher education has been enthusiastic. Critical tones have been few and far between. The educational measures of the EU have also been accepted without further protests – apart from sporadic references to the overtly "economistic" nature of the Union's view on education and to the heavy bureaucratic procedures involved in programme administration. In the Finnish comments given to the EU's White Paper on Teaching and Learning, it was concluded that four of the five points of emphasis set by the Commission corresponded with the guidelines adopted for Finnish education policy.

The future trends are difficult to predict, but it is likely that the development of international activities will continue, with greater emphasis on the quality

of existing contacts. Transregional co-operation with the neighbouring countries is given ever more attention in the official policy documents and funding decisions. A third area of emphasis is university-industry co-operation, which has been facilitated during the past couple of years by the establishment careers/placement services in the educational institutions.

Finland is a small country with a history of foreign political neutrality. It has always been dependent on larger nations' behaviour in terms of security policy as well as foreign trade. Perhaps as a reflection of this, we have not sought to initiate many educational reforms on the transnational scene, but rather adopted influences from abroad. Policies and innovations – also vis-à-vis internationalisation – have been assumed from Germany, the other Nordic States, the United States and, increasingly, from the EU.

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Introduction

The information on which this report is based was acquired in three different ways:

- Personal interviews with responsible political actors in the Federal Ministry for Education, Science, Research and Technology (BMBF), in the Secretariat of the Standing Conference of the Ministers for Culture of the German *Länder* (KMK Secretariat), in the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) and in the Secretariat of the German Rectors' Conference (HRK Secretariat).
- Telephone interviews with persons responsible for EU affairs in the Ministries for Culture or Science in the German *Länder*, with the Federal Government/Länder Joint Commission for Educational Planning and Research Promotion (BLK), with the German Research Association (DFG), the Science Council and the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation (AvH).
- Analyses of a broad range of material and policy documents relating to the various themes of this study.

Because of the limited time available for carrying out this study, the information and documents necessary for some of the themes could not be gathered in a scope and depth one would have wished for. Thus, the information concerning the German policy of internationalisation in the field of higher education is to a large extent exchange and mobility oriented in this study while international research cooperation has not been taken into account very extensively. Furthermore, not all German *Länder* have documented their policy of internationalisation of higher education in such a way that it is easily accessible or formulated in programmatic papers which could have been requested by the authors. The authors also regret that they were unable to acquire more information about the international activities of the German Research Association in the framework of the time available.

In contrast to this, the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) provided us with a large number of documents and information. This has led to a certain bias in favour of the largest German organisation for the support and promotion of international relationships in the field of higher education.

In this report the authors have tried to point out that the success of the European exchange programmes in the field of higher education as well as the DAAD programmes has led to a notable increase in the mobility of German students. This development has been supported by the relevant political actors in Germany. However, it can also be noted that there has been no decisive change of direction in the German politics of internationalisation which would have caused structural changes in the German higher education system. Although there have been many decentralised approaches and initiatives they could not trigger an overall innovative thrust on the systems level. But the authors believe that a shift in trends started about a year ago. A number of individual factors at various political levels has contributed to this. These include:

- The SOCRATES applications of the German higher education institutions and the required formulation of an institutional policy and strategy of internationalisation (European Policy Statement) in the framework of these applications.
- The concern of political actors on federal and *Länder* level that studying in Germany has become less attractive for foreign students and the fear of competitive disadvantages because of the low degree of international compatibility of German degrees.
- The decisions made, despite financial constraints, not only to strengthen the infrastructure of higher education institutions for international cooperation by means of special programmes and pilot projects but also – for the first time – to strive for changes in the system of study programmes and degrees.
- Finally, a trend which has been evident in many other European countries can now also be noted in Germany. This trend concerns a withdrawal of the state from close control of processes and the granting of a higher degree of institutional autonomy to initiate changes and trigger more "entrepreneurialism". In the framework of current changes in the *Länder* laws for higher education so-called "opening" or "experimental" clauses have been introduced or are being discussed, which are supposed to give higher education institutions more leeway for their own reform initiatives.

The report submitted here puts an emphasis on the interaction of four actors: the federal government, *Länder*, higher education institutions and European Commission. Although the German *Länder* have the basic responsibility for higher education, the role of the federal government is clearly emphasised because it stimulates activities on the level of the institutions as well as on the level of the EU. Another emphasis of the report is put on two processes of internationalisation which are indicated as the tension between social demand and political steering. The mobility flows induced by demand are politically counter-balanced by means of various programmes and projects. These programmes and projects are frequently addressed to target countries outside Europe (with the exception of Central and Eastern Europe), especially to Japan, China, Latin America and the Asian-Pacific region. They are supposed to create a counter-weight to mobility flows inside the EU and to the USA.

Principles of internationalisation policy

In Germany the federal structure of the state determines the responsibility for and jurisdiction over higher education. According to the Basic Law (Article 30), the individual *Länder* are responsible for the governance of the higher education sector, as long as there is no other regulation. The federal government only has a limited number of legislative competences and funding responsibilities with regard to higher education. However, it provides the general framework and basic principles governing higher education (Article 75, No. 1a. Basic Law) and is responsible for the Framework Act for Higher Education which the Higher Education Acts of the German *Länder* have to follow accordingly.

The federal government is responsible for foreign relations, including cultural policies abroad and the promotion of international cooperation in higher education. In the face of the responsibility of the *Länder* for education and cultural matters, the overall political responsibility for foreign or international relations lies with the Federal Government and especially with the Office for Foreign Affairs (cf. Faber/Gieseke/Gramm/ Wesseler, 1991).

The necessary cooperation among all relevant federal government ministries, the *Länder*, higher education institutions and other organisations in the field of higher education is organised in a number of special committees and bodies.

As is the case in other countries, international cooperation in higher education is highly valued in the Federal Republic of Germany.

According to the Framework Act for Higher Education from 1976, all German higher education institutions of whichever type and kind are responsible for the promotion of international and especially European cooperation and exchanges between German and foreign higher education institutions. In this context the special needs of foreign students have to be taken into account:

> *"Higher education institutions promote international, especially European, cooperation in their field and exchanges between German and foreign higher education institutions; they take into account the special needs of foreign students."*
> *(Framework Act for Higher Education, 1st Section, § 2)*

The higher education acts of the individual *Länder*, the five new (East German) Länder included, have similar statements.

International relations among higher education institutions as well as mobility of students, young academic staff and professors are regarded as indispensable elements for the performance and international competitiveness in teaching and research. Furthermore, internationalism is part of the essence of scientific and scholarly work.

Because of the principle of academic freedom and the specific autonomy of higher education institutions in academic matters, German higher education institutions have always been relatively free to shape their international relations. Therefore higher education institutions are an important actor in internationalisation processes next to the federal government, the *Länder* and the European Commission.

The German higher education and research system is characterised by a high degree of international integration. Cooperation with scholars and scientists abroad is a genuine interest of academic staff and has been supported for a long time by higher education institutions, extra-university research institutes, state, public and private research institutes and foundations. One of the professed goals of German support for higher education research, study and teaching is the promotion and support of student and junior academic staff mobility. There is a general public consensus in the Federal Republic of

Germany with regard to the basic goal of further extending international cooperation (cf. Wissenschaftsrat, 1992, p.6).

Phases of internationalisation policy

Although mobility of students and academic staff is only part – though an important one – of the internationalisation processes in higher education, the underlying political rationales for its support have changed over time and indicate certain historical phases in the general development of internationalisation in higher education. According to Baron (Baron 1993 and 1996) four phases can be distinguished between 1950 and the beginning of the 1990s.

In the first phase, between 1950 and 1975, mobility was seen predominantly as an element of foreign affairs policy and was restricted to a few, mostly highly developed "receiver countries". In Germany, an active "policy of open doors" for foreign students was followed based on the intention to strengthen the international repute of the state after the Second World War.

A second phase is seen by Baron in the years between 1975 and 1987. The liberal strategy of "open doors" was given up in favour of a more regulative and differentiated approach. Studying abroad by German students was given more importance than receiving foreign students. Considerable financial means were provided to overcome barriers for mobility. In addition, an "Integrated Study Abroad" (IAS) programme was established – administered by the DAAD – in order to put more weight on organised study abroad in contrast to free mover mobility. Study abroad was regarded as an important educational experience. The shift in emphasis also changed the pattern of the traditional South-North-mobility to one of increased North-North-mobility.

The third phase, between 1987 and 1992, was characterised by the emergence of a new actor in the arena of international mobility: the European Commission. Although there was already a European action programme in the field of education since 1976 which also included the support of "Joint Study Programmes" in the framework of cooperation among higher education institutions, the direct support of mobility in the framework of this action programme was only decided in 1984. In 1987, this led to the launch of the ERASMUS Programme, the success of which is undisputed.

After 1992, with the Treaty of Maastricht and the European Commission's Memorandum on Higher Education a fourth phase can be noted. According to Baron, this phase is characterised by a professionalisation of the structures which had been established in support of the organisation of student mobility at higher education institutions in order to deal with the growing numbers of mobile students. Increasingly, higher education institutions appear as independent actors in the processes of internationalisation. In addition, the European Commission was able to strengthen its position as political actor in the field of internationalisation of higher education. A third element becomes visible more clearly during this phase apart from the growing importance of higher education institutions and the European Commission as actors in internationalisation policies: in the framework of these policies issues of the market and competitive advantages began moving into the foreground.

Internationalisation policy and the market

As an important aspect of internationalisation mobility has changed its meaning from being originally a measure serving humanitarian aims and aims of improving the understanding among peoples to a concept and policy of educational advantages serving the individual and finally to a concept and policy of economically determined competitive advantages on the market. In the mid-1990s, the federal government in Germany has therefore declared that the improvement of the international competitiveness of German higher education institutions is a central task of higher education policy which should be the joint responsibility of the federal government and the *Länder*.

The starting point for this declaration of intent is the view that German higher education has clearly lost its attractiveness when compared to other industrialised countries. This is supposed to be especially valid for students from the dynamic developing countries in Latin America and Asia. In order to remain internationally competitive in science and economy an increased number of partnerships and contacts to countries outside Europe is seen as desirable. Therefore, measures to improve the competitiveness of studies in Germany are seen as an investment for future academic and economic cooperation with other parts of the world.

On December 18, 1996, the heads of governments of the *Länder* as well as the federal government issued a joint declaration to increase the international competitiveness of studies in Germany:

"The increase of international competitiveness of studies in Germany is of utmost importance for scientific, economic and cultural cooperation with other countries in the world. Decision-makers educated in Germany are central mediators and cooperative partners in the face of growing globalisation of economy, science and society" (Gemeinsame Erklärung ..., 1996, p. 1).

The federal government and the *Länder* are united in the view that the attractiveness of studies in Germany can be increased by reducing existing obstacles and by "an increased orientation of study programmes and degrees to the interests of foreign students" (loc. cit.).

One of the basic preconditions for this development is thought to be a consequent realisation of reforms in the structure of studies at German higher education institutions. Accordingly, the increase in competitiveness through internationalisation is not only regarded as being driven by economic concerns but also targeted to the higher education institutions themselves. The programmatic paper published by the Minister for Education, Science, Research and Technology, Jürgen Rüttgers, in February 1997 with the title "Higher Education for the 21st Century" defines as a "special German problem" that studying in Germany has lost its international competitiveness and attractiveness. As one of several perspectives for action the paper calls for a strengthening of the strategic competences of higher education institutions. The withdrawal of the state from close control of higher education is supposed to give institutions more leeway in order to become more efficient as well as more strongly oriented to competition and performance. Furthermore, the individual proposals for reform in the paper again and again point at elements of higher education systems of other EU Member States or the United States to which the German institutions should become more open:

"There is a growing importance of the international relationships of higher education institutions in teaching, studies and research. Therefore, we must be open to content-related and organisational strengths of the higher education systems of our partners including the international compatibility and transparency of our degrees" ("Hochschulen für das 21. Jahrhundert", 1997, p. 10).

These new priorities are matched by a new trend in the support of mobility and internationalisation processes at higher education institutions. In order to enable the institutions to take up initiatives by themselves, a growing emphasis is put on support measures to improve the infrastructure. During the last few years, for example, the establishment of international relations

offices at *Fachhochschulen* as well as the building of guest houses or "European houses" to accommodate foreign students and academic staff has been strongly supported.

Priorities of national policy

International cooperation in the field of higher education in Germany is co-determined by a number of policy arenas of which the main ones are foreign cultural policy, policies concerning support for developing countries, educational policy, and last but not least economic policy. In the course of the various historical phases of the development of international cooperation in higher education the weight of each of these policies has shifted several times. In the framework of current discussions about competitiveness and attractiveness of German higher education in the international arena aspects of economic policy have increasingly moved into the foreground.

Since the beginning of the 1990s, a number of new emphases have been established in the policy of internationalisation of higher education in the Federal Republic of Germany. For the first time these also include structural changes in the German system of studies, aiming specifically at establishing a higher degree of international compatibility. However, the measures which have been selected still have the character of pilot projects so that actual changes in the higher education system are still pending.

The new priorities in the policy of internationalisation, aiming at a new level of internationalisation in higher education around the mid-1990s, can be traced back to serious changes in the global political and economic framework conditions. Among these we count especially:

- the collapse of the socialist systems in Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) and the German unification (1989/90),
- the increasing globalisation of the economy and connected debates about the international competitiveness of German higher education (1995/96),
- the deepening of the process of European integration, especially the introduction of European Action Programmes in the field of higher education (1987) and their extension to the EFTA countries (1991/92) as well as the preparation of the institutional contract in the framework of SOCRATES (1996/97).

Apart from a preservation of grown and proven traditions, the dominant national policy in Germany in terms of the internationalisation of higher education can be summarised in four points:

(1) Higher education institutions should be given more leeway to initiate and carry out themselves the necessary reforms and the expansion of international cooperation. In order to enable them to do this, the national policy supports a strengthening of the infrastructure and experimental clauses in the higher education laws.

(2) National political actors try to limit the dynamics inherent in European higher education policy (by pointing emphatically at the principle of subsidiarity) to such an extent that the "policy entrepreneurialism" of the European Commission infringes upon grown national structures and traditions as little as possible.

(3) By means of special programmes and establishment of their own emphases for international exchange and institutional cooperation, national political actors in Germany try to create a counter-weight directed at a stronger inclusion of non-European states.

(4) Trial and pilot projects as well as granting institutions a higher degree of autonomy are not only supposed to create incentives for higher education institutions but are also connected to the goal of increasing the attractiveness and competitiveness of German higher education institutions in the international arena.

The priorities which have been established in the course of the 1990s are primarily related to target regions and cooperative activities. They are connected to the following development trends most of which are currently only in their initial stage:

- regional shifts in international cooperation in favour of Central and Eastern Europe and non-European countries,
- upgrading of institutional cooperation and hosting foreign students,
- new steps towards an internationalisation of contents and structures of studies.

Target countries and regions

Looking at the preferences of German students and academics in terms of target countries for study abroad and exchanges, international cooperation of higher education institutions in the old *Länder* (West Germany) have been oriented to a considerable extent to Western Europe and the USA. In terms of Western Europe this development was strengthened by a deepening

of the process of European integration in the second half of the 1980s. The focus on Western Europe and the United States is predominantly caused by the interests of mobile teachers, researchers and students. In order to create a counter-balance, special support programmes have been initiated by the DAAD for the regions of Central America, Indonesia and Southern Africa. The programmes were mostly based on political initiatives and bilateral agreements. In 1990, a special support programme was established to enable partnerships with higher education institutions in Central and Eastern Europe. In 1993, this programme was complemented by another special programme to support German language teaching and learning in these countries.

An analysis of mobility flows must distinguish between a political steering of mobility flows and cooperative activities on the one hand and individual preferences of mobile students and academic staff on the other. Political steering is frequently induced by issues of foreign affairs and policies for developing countries, in parts also cultural policies and recently by economic policies. In contrast to this, the closeness to one's own culture, foreign language knowledge and especially the reputation of the host institution play a significant role for the preferences of individuals. Support programmes established by the state are, however, an instrument to steer and intervene into mobility flows induced by (social) demand. These are also intended to create a certain counter-weight to the dominance of mobility within the EU.

It can be said that with the German unification, internationalisation policies in the Federal Republic of Germany have reached a new stage. The new *Länder* (East Germany) were able to bring their traditionally extensive relationships with higher education institutions in CEE countries into the overall international cooperation in Germany. Thus, East German higher education institutions have taken over a bridging function vis-à-vis Central and Eastern Europe.

On the basis of debates about the competitiveness of German higher education the Federal Government has put a further emphasis on international cooperation in the Asian-Pacific region and adopted a corresponding concept. Another concept in support of international cooperation with Latin America has also been developed but as yet there have been no concrete activities.

Ever since the mid-1980s, the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), being the largest support organisation for international cooperation in the field of higher education in Germany, has attempted to create a counter-balance to the trends in mobility flows and target countries induced by demand. This has led to certain changes in the structure of target countries and regions involved in the exchange of students and academic staff. For example, a shift can be noted in favour of the Central and Eastern European countries which was strongly supported by the dissolution of the former political systems. It is expected that the most recent emphasis on the Asian-Pacific region will have led to further structural shifts by the year 2000.

The regional distribution of German and foreign grant-holders supported by the DAAD has clearly shifted in favour of the Central and Eastern European countries (CEE countries) since the mid-1980s. Exchanges with Central and Eastern Europe more than tripled (from 3,759 grant-holders in 1985 to 13,411 in 1995) although Western European countries continue to be the main partners for German higher education institutions (23,474 grant-holders). This is mainly due to the mobility organised in the framework of the European mobility programmes (especially TEMPUS and ERASMUS), for which the DAAD acts as the national agency.

Table 1: Regional distribution of grant-holders in DAAD standard programmes (incl. EU Programmes)

Year	Total number of grant-holders	Western Europe	Central/ Eastern Europe	North America	Latin America	Africa/ Subsahara	North Africa/ Near East	Asia/ Australia/ Oceania
1990	38,883	23,337*		3,979	2,417	3,993		5,157
		60.0 %		10.2 %	6.2 %	10.3 %		13.3 %
1995	54,075	23,474	13,411	4,442	2,574	2,772	1,890	5,512
		43.3 %	24,8 %	8.2 %	4.8 %	5.1 %	3.5 %	10.2 %

* In 1990, the annual report of the DAAD did not yet contain a statistical account separating Western Europe from Central and Eastern Europe.

Calculated according to: DAAD Jahresbericht 1990, p. 29; 1995, p. 31.

The cooperation agreements signed by German higher education institutions with foreign higher education institutions since the mid-1980s reflect similar shifts in regional structure (cf. Table 2). However, a bias must be pointed out since the year 1993 because of the inclusion of ERASMUS and LINGUA ICPs from that year onwards. Nevertheless, we note a trend that

the proportion of cooperation agreements with institutions in Europe, including those in Central and Eastern Europe, has clearly increased to the disadvantage of all other regions in the world:

Table 2: Cooperation agreements of German higher education institutions according to region

Year	Total number of grant-holders	Western Europe	Central/ Eastern Europe	Africa/ Near East	North America	Latin America	Asia	Australia
1987	1,357	558	160	74	309	95	158	3
		41.1 %	11.8 %	5.4 %	22.8 %	7.0 %	11.6 %	0.2 %
1993	6,701	4,055	1,299*	163	583	177	402	22
		60.5 %	19.4 %	2.4 %	8.7 %	2.6 %	6.0 %	0. %

* In a different publication the German Rectors' Conference notes a lower number of agreements (minus 20) pertaining mainly to Poland and Hungary (cf. Hochschulrektorenkonferenz (ed.), Hochschulen auf gemeinsamem Weg, 1993, p. 13).

Calculated according to: Westdeutsche Rektorenkonferenz (ed.), Kooperationsvereinbarungen zwischen deutschen und ausländischen Hochschulen, Bonn 1987.

The proportion of cooperation agreements of German higher education institutions with partners in Central and Eastern Europe increased rapidly from the mid-1980s until the beginning of the 1990s. Whereas there were only 160 agreements with institutions in Central and Eastern Europe in 1987 (about 12 per cent of all agreements signed by West German institutions), there were 1,299, i.e. eight times as many, in 1993 after the German unification (about 20 per cent of all agreements signed by East- and West German institutions). The TEMPUS Programme of the EU has played an important role in this development.

For the higher education institutions in the new *Länder* higher education institutions in Central and Eastern Europe are still the main partners, although there was a rapid increase in agreements with Western European higher education institutions after 1990 (44 per cent of all agreements are signed with CEE institutions in contrast to only 8 per cent with Western European institutions). (Cf. Last/Schaefer, 1996, p. 87)

The main target countries for cooperation agreements of (West-)German higher education institutions in 1987 were the USA (293 cooperations),

followed by Great Britain (198) and France (167). In 1993, EU Member States, namely Great Britain (958 cooperations) and France (911), clearly ranked before the USA (530).

In contrast to grant-supported mobility and cooperation agreements, the overall regional structure of studies abroad and home countries of foreign students in Germany remained basically the same. Not even German unification had any considerable impact on this structure. As a rule, foreign students with a GDR government grant were allowed to continue their studies at East German higher education institutions (predominantly students from CEE countries and from Africa), whereas the traditional study abroad of East German students at higher education institutions in CEE countries collapsed almost completely.

In the mid-1980s, the most important countries for study abroad of West German students were the USA and Austria, followed by France. Just as studying abroad by students from the old German *Länder* concentrated on Western countries, studying abroad by East German students was focused on Central and Eastern Europe until the end of the 1980s. Among the target countries the Soviet Union was by far the most important host country. Four fifths of all East German students who were exclusively delegated by the state to study abroad went to the Soviet Union (until 1988 about 26,800 of altogether 33,000 students studying abroad), about seven per cent to Czechoslovakia and three per cent each to Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland and Romania. In addition, there were official cooperation agreements by the GDR government with African, Asian and Latin American countries concerning the delegation of small groups of students for short periods of study abroad in these countries. In the course of the 1980s a few agreements on short periods of study abroad were also made with some other industrialised countries (Japan, Great Britain, Sweden, Switzerland). (Cf. Last/Schaefer, 1996, p. 63f.)

Table 3: The eight most important countries for study abroad for German students (incl. EU Member States)

1985 Host country	Student numbers		1993 Host country	Student numbers	
USA	4,730	(19.0 %)	USA	8,508	(21.2 %)
Austria	4,636	(18.6 %)	U.K.	5,952	(14.8 %)
France	3,776	(15.2 %)	France	5,939	(14.8 %)
Switzerland	2,978	(11.9 %)	Austria	5,586	(13.9 %)
Italy	1,902	(7.6 %)	Switzerland	4,611	(11.5 %)
U.K.	1,874	(7.5 %)	Italy	1,500	(3.7 %)
Canada	1,102	(4.4 %)	Canada	1,351	(3.4 %)
Netherlands	776	(3.1 %)	Spain	1,073	(2.7 %)
Others	3,126	(12.6 %)	Others	5,689	(14.1 %)
Total	24,900	(100 %)	Total	40,200	(100 %)

* West Germany
Calculated according to: Federal Ministry for Education, Science, Research and Technology: Basic and Structural Data, 1995/96, p. 222.

Among the non-European target countries chosen by German students for studies abroad in 1994, the USA ranked highest by far (more than 21% or 8,500 students), followed by Switzerland (11.6%) and Canada (3.4%). CEE countries were chosen as target countries for each by 500 or less German students. Only about 0.5 per cent of German students went to Japan.

In the framework of ERASMUS, Great Britain remained the main target country for study abroad by German students. About one third of all students going abroad choose institutions in this country as their host. However, during the last few years the importance of British higher education institutions for hosting German students has declined in favour of other target countries (especially EFTA countries). The same holds true for France. This development is less a result of individual demand than of a targeted steering of mobility flows on the side of the political actors in the framework of the programme (EU Member States and European Commission). In the framework of mobility programmes the actors aim at a considerably improved balance of mobility flows among the EU Member States.

Table 4: German ERASMUS students according to target country

Year	Total number of German ERASMUS students	United Kingdom	France	Spain	Italy	Ireland	Nether-lands	Other coun-tries
1988/89	3,587	1,356	1,040	366	270	142	217	196
		37.8 %	29.0 %	10.2 %	7.5 %	4.0 %	6.0 %	5.5 %
1993/94	12,852	4,090	2,823	1,601	964	714	584	2,076
		31.8 %	22.0 %	12.4 %	7.5 %	5.6 %	4.5%	16.1 %

Calculated according to: DAAD Jahresbericht 1990, p. 84; 1995, p. 126.

Foreign students at German higher education institutions mainly come from European countries (about 55 per cent in 1992), among them a considerable number coming from countries which are not EU Member States (incl. Turkey). The proportion of students from European countries which are not EU Member States among the overall number of foreign students has increased in the course of the 1980s (from 29 per cent in 1985 to 32 per cent in 1992). Among the former, Turkish students are represented with about 40 per cent of which a high proportion has already had their schooling in Germany, i.e. either immigrated when they were still very young or were born in Germany, so-called second generation Turks.

Asia is the second largest region of origin for foreign students in Germany (28 per cent), however, this is concentrated on a few countries only. In 1985, these were Iran, Korea and Indonesia. Since then the number of students from Indonesia stagnated more or less while the number of students from China increased considerably (almost fivefold). For purposes of education and training students from the Asian-Pacific growth regions prefer to go the USA, recently also to Australia and Japan (cf. HRK, 1996, p. 7). In the context of a new emphasis on the Asian-Pacific region, the German government is therefore especially interested in recruiting students from this region and to reducing the focus on only a few countries of origin. Although the proportion of students from Africa has increased since 1985, this region remains clearly under-represented in the study of foreigners in Germany (about 8%).

Table 5: Regions of origin of foreign students at German higher education institutions

Year	Total number of foreign students	EU	Other European countries	America	Asia	Africa	Australia Oceania
1985	74,574	18,352 24.6 %	21,318 28.6 %	7,600 10.2 %	21,667 29.0 %	4,310 5.8 %	166 0.2 %
1992	123,052	28,008 22.7 %	39,227 31.9%	9,290 7.5 %	34,100 27.7 %	10,245 8.3 %	205 0.2 %

* Including stateless persons and no reply.

Calculated according to: BMBF: Grund- und Strukturdaten 1995/96, p. 214f.

The shift in the countries of origin of foreign students in Germany in favour of non-EU countries and Africa, which can be noted between 1985 and 1992, has possibly been influenced among other things by the fact that the German government permitted foreign students with a GDR government scholarship to continue their studies after the unification. As a rule, these foreign students continued and finished their studies at East German higher education institutions (altogether 7,400 students, especially from Central and Eastern Europe, African and Asian countries). The support programme for students with government scholarships from the former GDR will be discontinued in 1997/98 (cf. Last/Schaefer, 1996, p. 109f.).

In terms of the regional origin of foreign students the GDR differed from the (old) FRG mainly in the proportion of students from African countries which was considerably higher in East Germany (about 23%). However, the top rank among the countries of origin of foreign students in the GDR was constituted by Central and Eastern European countries (about 40%). Six per cent of the foreign students came from (Western) industrialised countries, of which Japan, the USA, Great Britain and Greece were most strongly represented (cf. Last/Schaefer, 1996, p. 71).

The increase in the proportion of students from non-EU countries among foreign students in Germany between 1985 and 1992 can be traced back mainly to the CEE countries, especially Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland and Romania. The proportion increased from 9.6 to 13.4 per cent and is clearly induced by demand.

The changes in the structure of countries of origin in favour of CEE countries which occurred since the beginning of the 1990s are also reflected

in the support of research fellows through scholarships granted by the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation (AvH). In 1995, the Foundation awarded altogether 1,349 research scholarships to scholars and scientists from 89 different countries. Among these countries almost half (49%) were European ones and almost one third (32%) alone were CEE countries. Scholars and scientists from the Russian Federation were most strongly represented (159 Humboldt fellows), followed by research fellows from the USA (149), China (133), India (91) and Japan (87). (Cf. AvH, 1996, p. 17)

A large majority of German scholars and scientists supported by the AvH in 1995 went to the USA (272), followed by Japan (51), France (18), Great Britain and Canada (11 each) and Australia (10). The remaining ten per cent of German Humboldt fellows went to further 25 countries (cf. AvH, 1996, p. 17).

Structure of subject areas and disciplines

International cooperation and mobility involves basically all subject areas. There is a certain prioritisation in terms of modern foreign languages and law because special national programmes exist to support studies abroad for students of English and American Studies, French Studies, German Literature and Language, and for those studying law. At the beginning of the 1980s, a special programme was established for students of Japanese language and culture which has been extended to Chinese studies in the meantime.

The representation of various subject areas in international mobility still varies considerably and has remained more or less the same since the 1980s. However, there are marked differences in the structure of subject areas if we compare the study of Germans abroad to that of foreign students in Germany.

Study abroad of German students is traditionally dominated by language studies and humanities while engineering is somewhat under-represented. It can also be noted that certain subject areas are preferred in certain target countries, a fact which is closely related to strategies of evading German access restrictions in numerus clausus subjects. For example, German students going to the Netherlands and to Switzerland predominantly studied law, economics and social sciences at the beginning of the 1990s (35 and 38 per cent resp.), and German students going to Romania and Hungary

predominantly studied medicine (66 and 70 per cent resp.). (Cf. BMBF: Grund- und Strukturdaten 1995/96, p. 223)

Due to targeted steering attempts in order to increase the range of subjects of German students studying abroad, some shifts in the composition of subject groups have occurred. For example, the proportion of German engineering students going abroad for a limited period of studies has increased to some extent, especially within ERASMUS (cf. Table 7). This increase might also have been caused by the growing activities of *Fachhochschulen* in the field of international cooperation and student exchange. Among the mobile students from German *Fachhochschulen* the subject areas economics/economic engineering (46%) and engineering (39%) are strongly represented (both per centages related to the year 1991/92). (Cf. Schmid-Höpfner/Huth, 1994, p. 81)

Foreign students studying in Germany frequently prefer engineering. Nevertheless, we note a slight decrease in the proportion of foreign students studying engineering in favour of students studying law, economics and social sciences since the mid-1980s (cf. Table 6).

*Table 6: Structure of subject area choice of foreign students studying at German higher education institutions (**incl. students from EU Member States**)*

Year	Total number of foreign students	Languages/ Humanities	Law/ Economics Social sciences	Mathematics/ Natural sciences	Engineering	Medicine (human and vet.)	Agriculture/ Nutrition
1986	77,195	23,226	14,295	10,946	20,919	6,005	1,804
		30.0 %	18.5 %	14.2 %	27.1 %	7.8 %	2.3 %
1992	123,052	36,995	27,480	18,558	30,226	7,597	2,196
		30.0 %	22.3 %	15.1 %	24.6 %	6.2 %	1.8 %

Calculated according to: BMBF, Grund- und Strukturdaten 1988/89, p. 175; 1995/96, p. 217.

A specific structure of subject area choices has developed in the framework of ERASMUS. In 1995, law, economics and social sciences clearly dominated (41 per cent of German students going abroad). Only one fifth of students going abroad came from language studies and humanities.

Table 7: German ERASMUS students according to subject area

Year	Total number of foreign students	Languages/ Humanities	Law/ Economics Social sciences	Mathe-matics/ Natural sciences	Engi-neering	Medicine (human and vet.)	Agri-culture/ Nutrition
1989/90	3,587	892 24.9 %	1,599 44.6 %	315 8.8 %	567 15.8 %	145 4.0 %	69 1.9 %
1994/95	12,852	2,888 22.5 %	5,271 41.0 %	1,35 10.5 %	2,208 17.2 %	593 4.6 %	541 4.2 %

Calculated according to: DAAD Jahresbericht 1995, p. 126.

Short-term and long-term fellowships of German academic staff going abroad show similar imbalances. In 1995, almost half of the short-term fellowships were granted in language studies and humanities. Engineering was strongly under-represented both in long-term fellowships (7 per cent) and in short-term fellowships (12 per cent).

A relatively balanced structure of subject areas can be noted in cooperative agreements with institutions in Central and Eastern Europe. Here, engineering sciences are represented almost as strongly as the humanities and the social sciences together. This might be due to the fact that technical subjects have always been specifically promoted in CEE countries and were able to maintain some advantages over "ideological" subject areas after 1989.

Target Institutions and Groups

The carriers of international cooperation in the field of higher education are all higher education institutions which shape their relationships to institutions abroad on the basis of the principle of academic freedom. All types of higher education institutions are equally regarded as target institutions (cf. Framework Act for Higher Education). There are no basic priorities and the policy is one of compensation and balance. During the last few years, for example, higher education institutions in the new German *Länder* as well as *Fachhochschulen* were specifically supported in their efforts to extend their international cooperation.

Types of target institutions are:

- universities and technical universities (including comprehensive universities, teacher training colleges and theological higher education institutions),

- colleges of art and music,
- *Fachhochschulen.*

In contrast to the traditional universities having long standing experiences in international cooperation, the *Fachhochschulen* which were only established at the beginning of the 1970s (in the new *Länder* even later, after unification) need to catch up in this field to a considerable extent.

The *Fachhochschulen* became member institutions of the DAAD only in 1988 and can apply for support in the framework of the DAAD programmes since that time. During the last few years the federal government and the *Länder* governments have promoted the support of international relations at *Fachhochschulen* by providing substantial funding in the framework of the special programmes for higher education (cf. section 4.2). The funds were provided in order to finance the establishment or extension of international relations offices and other measures to improve the infrastructure necessary for international cooperation and the organisation of mobility.

The German *Fachhochschulen* have participated to a large extent in the European mobility programmes as well as in the development of integrated study abroad programmes and joint curricula. Experts in the field attribute this success to a higher degree of affinity of *Fachhochschulen* to organised mobility and modularised study elements because their structure of studies is more strongly organised than it is at universities.

During the last few years and especially in the framework of the EU programmes, the *Fachhochschulen* made every effort to strengthen and build up their international relationships and establish their own priorities. However, there are still notable differences between universities and *Fachhochschulen* in terms of international activities. For example, the proportion of foreign students at *Fachhochschulen* (not counting those who have completed their schooling in Germany) is only 2 per cent compared to 5 per cent at universities.

The highest proportion of international relations of *Fachhochschulen* is with EU Member States and the USA. However, there are also cooperation agreements with higher education institutions in Africa, Asia, Latin America and Australia. Cooperation with Central and Eastern Europe has increased notably. The objective of most of the cooperation agreements is mobility

while research cooperation is of less importance. This is not surprising because *Fachhochschulen*, in contrast to universities, do not have an explicit research mission (cf. Schmid-Höpfner/Huth, 1994, p. 39ff.).

Another focus of national policies for the internationalisation of higher education is the support of international relations at higher education institutions in the new *Länder*. In this context the dominant issues are the continuation of cooperation with Central and Eastern European higher education institutions under new premises and a strengthening of cooperation with Western countries in general (not only EU Member States).

International cooperation includes the following target groups:

- students,
- academic staff, including junior staff,
- administrative staff.

During the last few years the support of doctoral candidates and junior academic staff has received special attention in international cooperation. Studies abroad for research purposes increase the value of scholarly or scientific qualification and thus, career opportunities. Financed by the Federal Ministry of Education, Science, Research and Technology special programmes for the education of junior academic staff were instigated in those subject areas in which it was felt that Germany has a need to catch up (for example, epidemiology, genetic engineering, technology of micro systems, rheumatology, supra conductors). The special programmes for higher education jointly financed by the federal government and the *Länder* also include additional measures for the support of junior academic staff (cf. section 4).

Forms of support and cooperation

The concept of promotion and support of mobility in the Federal Republic of Germany is traditionally characterised by a focus on individual mobility, with research cooperation always presupposed. However, since the beginning of the 1990s there is a trend to put more emphasis on the inclusion of curriculum development in the processes of Europeanisation and internationalisation and achieve some progress in recognition issues. Activities relating to this have been specifically promoted by the European Commission in the support philosophy of the EU programmes. However, in this

respect German higher education institutions (especially the universities) have always had considerable reservations. Only in the framework of the SOCRATES applications of German higher education institutions a tendency became visible to make greater efforts in the introduction of ECTS and to establish respective agreements with partner institutions abroad. At the beginning of 1997, a change in attitude vis-à-vis the traditional German degree structure and certificates has also occurred in policy actors on the national level. A pilot programme has been established to introduce internationally recognised degrees (bachelor and master) parallel to the German degrees. Seen together, both developments can be interpreted as a shift of trends which should not be underestimated.

Among the most important forms of international cooperation at German higher education institutions we can count

- studying abroad by German students,
- studying by foreigners at German institutions,
- exchange of teachers and researchers, incl. visiting professors,
- internationalisation of study programmes and recognition of studies and examinations taken abroad.

Cooperation agreements are regarded as a central means to support the exchange of students and academic teachers. The organised and institutionally backed exchange of persons has not completely substituted "free mover" mobility but clearly supplanted it in importance.

National philosophy of support

The German concept of support for mobility was traditionally characterised by a focus on individual mobility. In the course of the 1980s and 1990s, however, there have been clear modifications of this philosophy. Even before the launch of the EU mobility programmes the DAAD introduced an organised form of exchange in the framework of its integrated study abroad programme (IAS). When German students started to participate to a high degree in the EU mobility programmes, the focus of IAS was put on non-European countries. During this period we can note a general trend becoming stronger: support for organised mobility in the framework of projects or programmes.

In its recommendations concerning the internationalisation of academic cooperation, the Science Council has underscored the value of individually organised study abroad. However, at the same time it also clearly acknowledges the advantages and successes of institutionally organised study abroad which is frequently (co-)financed by third parties (cf. Wissenschaftsrat, 1992, p. 45):

> *"There is a high demand for institutionally organised studies abroad. In the future they will require stabilisation and a notable quantitative expansion both in Germany and in Europe." (op. cit.)*

As mentioned above, institutional and project related cooperation with foreign countries has been strengthened. Among this kind of cooperation we can count specifically the regional special programmes, project related mobility of persons (with Western European and overseas countries) and bilateral partnership agreements of higher education institutions. This development is less a national peculiarity but was strongly favoured by the EU programmes, especially in ERASMUS. Around 240 German higher education institutions now want to cooperate with partner institutions in the framework of ERASMUS/SOCRATES and exchange students and teachers as well as develop joint curricula. In 1988/89 only 112 German institutions participated in ERASMUS.

The importance of cooperation agreements between higher education institutions has clearly risen. Formal agreements between institutions have been promoted increasingly as a central instrument of cooperation. Thus, the traditional cooperation contracts of higher education institutions in the new German *Länder* with Central and Eastern Europe were preserved to a considerable extend. In 1995, the vast majority of grantholders in the framework of institutional partnerships came from CEE countries (88 per cent). Thus, institutional partnerships are the central tool for organising exchanges with this region.

In 1995, the proportion of mobility in the framework of cooperation agreements between higher education institutions among the overall total of financially supported mobility was 8 per cent. If we include project related mobility of persons, the proportion was 13 per cent (the proportion of financial means in support of institutional and project related cooperation among the overall financial means spent by the DAAD was one fifth).

Study abroad

In principle, there is a broad consensus that study abroad increases the subject related qualification and the academic horizon of students as well as enriching the individual education and experience (cf. Wissenschaftsrat, 1992, p. 41). In addition, a new focus related to competitive and economic aspects has emerged.

However, the proportion of German students studying abroad did not increase substantially since the mid-1980s, although the actual number of German students abroad almost doubled (from 24,000 to 40,000). In 1985, 20 out of 1,000 German students studied abroad. Up to 1993, this figure increased slightly to 23 out of 1,000 students (cf. BMBF, Grund- und Strukturdaten 1995/96, p. 222).

Compared to the demands of the labour market for higher education graduates in the 1990s, the Science Council believes that
"the current number of German students studying abroad is too low and neither the geographical distribution nor the representation of subject areas is satisfactory." (Wissenschaftsrat, 1992, p.42)

Therefore, the Science Council recommended creating measures and providing funding in order to achieve the target of 10 per cent of students studying abroad which has been set by the European Commission for the ERASMUS programme.

Since the introduction of the European Action Programmes ERASMUS and LINGUA in 1987, the support of German students for studies abroad comes increasingly from the European level while at the same time national support for EU mobility has declined. This particular form of "distribution of work" in terms of supplying financial means to support study abroad in Europe will increase in the future.

Foreign students in Germany

The proportion of foreign students among all students at German higher education institutions has remained approximately the same between the mid-1980s until 1995 (6 and 7 per cent resp.). More than one third (36 per cent) of foreign students studying in Germany have acquired their right for access in Germany, i.e. they went to school in Germany. Not counting this specific type of student, the proportion of foreign students in Germany is reduced to currently only 4 per cent.

The aim to increase the attractiveness of studies in Germany for foreign students (especially for those from the Asian-Pacific region) has led to the introduction of study programmes oriented to foreign students in 1996/97 which are envisaged to run as pilot projects until the year 2000 (cf. sections 5.2.1 and 5.2.2). The impact of these structural reform measures on the study of foreign students from specific economically relevant regions of the world in Germany will only become visible after that time.

Exchange of academic staff

The exchange of academic staff is an important criterion for the internationalisation of higher education institutions. Visiting professors play a special role for the internationalisation of contents of studies. According to the recommendations of the Science Council, the federal government and the *Länder* should examine whether the support instrument of visiting professorships can be extended further (cf. Wissenschaftsrat, 1992, p. 63).

According to a survey carried out in 1994 at 698 European higher education institutions participating in ERASMUS, the German institutions answering the questionnaire had an average proportion of four per cent of foreign teachers in 1992/93. About one fifth of the German institutions which were questioned did not have any teachers from abroad. In the same year more German teachers from higher education institutions went abroad than teachers from abroad came to German institutions (on average 5.3 and 3.1 teachers respectively). The proportion of teacher exchanges in the framework of ERASMUS (incl. LINGUA) among the overall exchange of academic staff was about one third (cf. Maiworm/Sosa/Teichler, 1996, p. 59).

The exchange of German scholars and scientists is supported predominantly by the German Research Association (DFG) and the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation (AvH), both of which award individual research scholarships (more detailed figures in section 4.2). In the framework of the EU programmes research fellowships are granted within the programme "Training and Mobility of Researchers" (TMR).

The exchange of academic teachers supported by the DAAD takes place mainly in the framework of projects and programmes or cooperation agreements. A growing importance has been given to the placement of lecturers in the framework of the DAAD programme "Support of German

Studies and German Language Abroad". The placement of lecturers increased from 356 in 1985 to 555 in 1995.

The support of long-term and short-term teaching fellowships (visiting professorships incl.) by the DAAD has developed differently over the last ten years. Short-term teaching fellowships increased 2.5 times. In contrast to this, long-term teaching fellowships (visiting professorships incl.) increased considerably less.

In summarising it can be noted that the traditional German support activities in the field of internationalisation of higher education basically consist of three measures:

- The individual mobility of students, teachers and researchers, for which funding is provided from a number of different sources and support organisations (DAAD, DFG, AvH etc.).
- The institutional and project related cooperation of higher education institutions in the framework of partnership agreements and bilateral cooperation agreements. Funding for these activities is provided primarily by the individual *Länder* and by the institutions themselves from their own budget.
- The project or programme-related delegation of German scholars and scientists to foreign countries in the framework of German cultural policy abroad but also of economic policies and policies for developing countries. This includes the placement of lecturers by the DAAD as well as consultancy and project activities of the German Society for Technical Cooperation (GTZ) in developing countries. For these activities funding is primarily provided by the federal government.

Internationalisation of Curricula and Recognition

In addition to mobility the ERASMUS/SOCRATES Programme also supports the joint development of curricula. In this respect the German *Fachhochschulen* have achieved considerable progress, especially in terms of the introduction of integrated study abroad programmes (some finishing with double degrees) (cf. section 5). Similar developments at universities have so far remained rather modest. In comparison to mobility activities, curriculum development clearly plays a lesser role in the applications of German higher education institutions in the framework of SOCRATES applications.

According to the position of the German Rectors' Conference (HRK), joint development of curricula can lead to a harmonisation of contents of teaching and studying in undergraduate as well as in postgraduate studies on a European level "and thus, to an unwanted uniformity of syllabuses. Therefore, a careful examination is recommended whether activities in this area should be developed." (HRK, 1996, p. 14)

In contrast to the pre-1989 times of GDR existence, joint development of curricula only plays a small role in the framework of cooperation between East German higher education institutions and higher education institutions in CEE countries. According to a survey among professors at East German higher education institutions joint development of curricula occupies by far the last place in a ranking list of those activities which should be supported (cf. Last/Schaefer, 1996, p. 56).

However, in the framework of applications of German higher education institutions for support under SOCRATES we can note a considerable increase of activities to introduce ECTS and comparable mechanisms of recognition of studies and examinations carried out abroad. Three quarters of all German higher education institutions having submitted a SOCRATES application "declared their intention to introduce the ECTS system across all or some of their faculties and departments." (Hellmann/Schluck, 1997, p. 8) This is a clear change of position compared to the previous, rather reserved attitude of German higher education institutions towards ECTS and can be interpreted as a further step to increase the internationalisation of studies and the international attractiveness of higher education institutions. In a programmatic paper from February 1997 with the title "Higher Education for the 21st Century" the Federal Minister for Education, Science, Research and Technology, Jürgen Rüttgers, has supported this development and recommended to introduce at German higher education institutions an "internationally comparable credit point system which can be recognised" (cf. "Hochschulen für das 21. Jahrhundert", p.8).

It can also be noted that the coordination of or participation in intensive programmes has become more popular. These are also supported in the framework of SOCRATES. A European comparison shows that, preceded by Great Britain, German higher education institutions have submitted the second highest number of applications for support of intensive programmes. As a rule, intensive programmes are shorter compact or block seminars with

an international composition of students and teachers. They frequently serve as a basic element for later developments towards internationalisation of curricula or joint development of study programmes. Therefore, the high number of applications for support of intensive programmes from German higher education institutions can be interpreted as a start towards the development of a stronger European dimension in the curricula which up to now has been regarded with a lot of scepticism by the universities. On the national level the internationalisation of study programmes has received a clear thrust through the introduction of pilot projects.

Policy of internationalisation: procedures and actors

The federal government competence for foreign affairs and external relations and the responsibility of the *Länder* for education and culture results in the necessity of a close cooperation between federal government and the *Länder* in the field of internationalisation of higher education. Cooperation takes place both in the framework of formal regulations and in the framework of informal agreements (cf. Sekretariat der Ständigen Konferenz der Kultusminister der Länder, 1996, p. 5). The European Commission has gained in importance as a political actor on the supra-national level because the Commission's proposals and measures increasingly influence national policies. Finally, the higher education institutions themselves must be counted among the actors in so far as they are autonomous in shaping and prioritising their international relationships.

National level: procedures for issues relating to the EU

It is a typical feature of internationalisation in higher education that it is not only directed abroad and thus, an element of federal government competencies. Increasingly, internationalisation of higher education is also concerned with measures pertaining directly to the higher education system itself. With that the responsibility of the *Länder* for education and cultural affairs is affected. In such cases the consent of the *Länder* is required, which is given (or refused) by the Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs (KMK).

Furthermore, according to Article 91b of the Basic Law

> *"Federal Government and Länder (can) ... collaborate on the basis of agreements on issues concerning educational planning and the support of establishments and*

projects of scientific research with transregional importance. The distribution of costs is regulated in the framework of the agreement."

Such an agreement has also been signed relating to measures for the support of international cooperation of higher education institutions (cf. section 4.2).

In issues related to European affairs the *Länder* have certain rights and responsibilities which they exercise via the Upper House (*Bundesrat*). These are based on the new Article 23 of the Basic Law relating to Europe, on an Act passed by parliament on March 12, 1993 following this new Article and concerning the collaboration of the federal government and the *Länder* in issues related to European affairs, and the corresponding agreement between the federal government and the *Länder*. This has strengthened the position of the *Länder* vis-à-vis the federal government in European matters. The Upper House must be involved in processes of policy formation relating to European issues in all cases in which it would have to collaborate on a national level or in which the *Länder* would be responsible if it were a national matter. A number of details have been fixed concerning the way and scope in which the position of the Upper House has to be taken into account and how the representatives of the *Länder* must be integrated into decision-making processes on the national and European level.

The "Agreement between the Federal Government and the Governments of the *Länder* concerning the collaboration in issues relating to European Union Affairs" (Federal Government-*Länder*-Agreement) was formally passed on October 29, 1993 and established the following procedural steps:

- information of the Upper House,
- preparatory deliberations,
- statement of the Upper House,
- inclusion of representatives of the *Länder* in negotiations with bodies of the European Union.

The *Länder* themselves can establish a permanent and direct liaison with institutions and bodies of the European Union (for example, through liaison offices) as long as it serves the fulfilment of their national tasks and responsibilities according to the Basic Law. However, the liaison offices of the *Länder* in Brussels do not have a diplomatic status (cf. "Act concerning the collaboration of Federal Government and *Länder* in issues relating to European affairs", § 8).

Internationalisation policies and coordination of the German *Länder*

The programmatic statements of the *Länder* governments relating to the internationalisation of higher education are based on the respective higher education laws of each *Land*. They do not differ principally from the aims for internationalisation of the federal level, but there are some differences in emphases. These can be put down to variations in shaping the nexus between science and economic policy and last but not least to the specific starting positions in the field of internationalisation of the new *Länder* as compared to the old ones.

For example, Berlin is oriented to the traditional model of the international character of science as such which is based on the need of the individual scientist or scholar for exchange with his/her "scientific community". However, the issue of competitiveness and market advantages would not be missing in any contemporary speech in front of the Berlin government, the Senate. In Bavaria international cooperation of higher education institutions and mobility of students and academic staff are connected closely to economic policy and a specific understanding of elites. In contrast to this, Saxony emphasises the freedom of movement connected to mobility and the globality of scientific exchange.

Beyond their constitutionally guaranteed possibilities for co-determination, the *Länder* have established procedures among themselves for cooperation and to develop an informed opinion, to establish a common standpoint and to approach the federal government with their position. This is being done in bodies like the Conference of the Minister-Presidents of the *Länder* governments, the Conference of Ministers responsible for European affairs and the Conferences of Ministers responsible for other related areas.

There are also regular discussions about European topics with the federal government on a political as well as on an operational level. Important committees on the operational level are, for example, the committee for cultural affairs and the committee for European affairs of the Upper House, the standing working group of the Conference of Ministers for European affairs and the Commission for European Affairs (EuKo) being a body of the Standing Conference of Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs.

The Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs of the *Länder* was established to act as a coordinating body and provide

opportunities for a joint formulation of standpoints on all cultural affairs. However, because of the fact that decisions by this body must be unanimous and that it usually takes quite some time until unanimity is arrived at, this body turned out to be not flexible enough to arrive at a joint standpoint in the limited time being granted for national decision-making in the European context. Therefore, the Commission for European Union Affairs (EuKo) was established because according to its statutes the Standing Conference of Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs has to deliberate on "issues of cultural policies of transregional importance with the aim of agreeing upon common viewpoints and opinions and to represent common objectives." The EuKo consists of representatives of all *Länder* governments being responsible for European affairs, representatives of the 'main committees' of all *Länder*, Länder representatives who are members of European advisory boards for education and cultural affairs and in the working group for research. Essentially the EuKo is in charge of all European affairs within the framework of the Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs.

Concerning those European affairs which are not included in the procedures of Upper House deliberations, official statements of the Standing Conference of Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs serve as a basis for further negotiations or for the participation of *Länder* Ministers in the European Council of Ministers. In cooperation with the Federal Ministry for Education, Science, Research and Technology or other Federal Ministries involved in European issues, joint standpoints are developed either by the EuKo or in the framework of the Standing Conferences of the Minister-Presidents of the *Länder* governments or by the Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs (cf. Sekretariat der Ständigen Konferenz (ed.), 1996, p. 13f.)

Level of Higher Education Institutions

According to the Framework Act for Higher Education, higher education institutions have the responsibility to support and promote international cooperation on the one hand. On the other hand, they are committed to the freedom of teaching and research (Framework Act, Section 1, § 3). This means, that they are free to shape their international relations autonomously. The main actors of internationalisation at higher education institutions are students and academic staff themselves. Until now initiatives of academic staff were typically started at departmental level. In the framework of

SOCRATES the responsibility of the heads and the administration of institutions has increased significantly. For the first time higher education institutions have formulated their own strategies for international cooperation.

The high degree of importance which is given to internationalisation by the higher education institutions becomes visible in the SOCRATES applications submitted in 1996 to the European Commission by altogether 239 German higher education institutions (about two thirds of all institutions). The range of activities applied for supports the expectation of a new thrust in the efforts of the institutions to further internationalise. However, it still remains to be seen to which degree the activities can actually be carried out, because there has not yet been a decision about the level of support.

The strategies for internationalisation which had to be formulated by all higher education institutions in the framework of their "European Policy Statement" indicate a number of goals for the coming years. These goals try to take the degree of internationalisation achieved up to now even further and complement the previously decentralised organisation of international activities with an institutionally coordinated approach. Traditional mobility of students and teaching staff is connected more strongly than before to the creation of a European dimension in teaching and studies and the implementation of ECTS. The European credit transfer scheme is supposed to contribute especially to a further reduction of factors preventing mobility.

Nevertheless, the level of departments and faculties still plays a decisive role in carrying out international activities, specifically in the framework of European support programmes. For all issues relating to academic content of exchanges the main actors are still members of academic staff.

As a rule, international relations offices (or corresponding officers) located at the higher education institutions are responsible for the administration and the support of the international work of the institution. Although *Fachhochschulen* started relatively late with the establishment of such offices most institutions have done so in the meantime.

Until recently, there has hardly been a special infrastructure for the care and accommodation of foreign students at German higher education institutions. However, in the last few years the DAAD has provided funds to enable institutions to give better care to foreign students. The special programmes

for higher education (cf. section 4.3) jointly initiated and financed by the federal government and the *Länder* have also provided substantial funding for the building of guest houses or "European houses" to improve accommodation.

The interests of higher education institutions in terms of internationalisation policies are represented by the German Rectors' Conference (HRK) in which all German universities well as the *Fachhochschulen* (only recently) are members on a voluntary basis.

Since 1985, the HRK has formulated a multitude of statements and recommendations concerning international cooperation. It also participates in special measures concerning the internationalisation of higher education (cf. section 5).

Since the mid-1980s, the HRK has issued official statements concerning the following issues of international cooperation in higher education:

- development of bilateral relationships,
- study of foreign students in Germany,
- recognition of degrees,
- support of student mobility,
- support of course programmes/degree programmes important for developing countries,
- Memorandum of the European Commission on Higher Education,
- EU Action Programmes (ERASMUS, SOCRATES),
- overall development of international relationships of German higher education institutions.

A more general statement of the (former) West German Rectors' Conference (WRK) about the "Future of Higher Education" issued in 1988, also contained guidelines and recommendations concerning internationalisation (cf. WRK, 1991, p. 259ff.).

The Role of the Science Council

The Science Council, consisting of representatives from politics, public life and higher education, advises federal government and the *Länder* in all questions regarding the development of contents and structures of higher education, investments and support of research. It works out

recommendations including the internationalisation of teaching, studies and research. If we compare the German higher education system with that of other countries, the Science Council can be characterised as the only German example of a buffer organisation.

The Science Council has provided a number of important recommendations concerning the internationalisation of higher education:

- statement about the offer of study programmes for students from developing countries (1985),
- recommendations concerning the development of *Fachhochschulen* in the 1990s (1991),
- recommendations concerning the internationalisation of academic cooperation (1992).

The new emphases which can be noted in the framework of internationalisation of higher education in the Federal Republic of Germany since the mid-1990s lead to the expectation that a qualitatively new level will be achieved in the coming years. Parallel to the deepening of the European process of integration there will also be further trends towards globalisation beyond the traditional cooperation within Western Europe.

The European Commission

The European Union has only restricted competences in the field of education and must respect the diversity of European educational traditions. At the same time, the success of many of the European programmes in the field of education is based on the support and promotion of a European dimension in education on a broader scale than a narrow interpretation of the competences of the EU in education would imply (cf. Kehm/Teichler, 1994, p. 17). Often the various ideas and wishes of the 15 Member States clash in the processes preceding the decision about the establishment or continuation of a programme. Because of the federal structure of the German political system complex procedures have been established in order to achieve a sufficient basic consensus with respect to the European aims and objectives of the programmes and to develop conceptual guidelines for their national implementation and administration (cf. op. cit., p. 18).

Nevertheless, the European Commission has managed over a number of years to develop into a "policy entrepreneur" (cf. Schink, 1993) which

should not be underestimated. The incentives created by the European support programmes in the field of higher education have led to the fact that only few institutions can evade the processes of internationalisation supported by these programmes. The "institutional contract" which will be signed by the European Commission and each higher education institution in the framework of SOCRATES is a further element of supra-national steering, in so far as the contractual conditions and regulations are laid down by the European Commission and non-negotiable.

Although national representatives participate to a high degree in the formulation and decision-making procedures of the European action programmes, the programmes frequently develop their own dynamics once they have been passed by the European Council. This can clearly be shown by using the success of ERASMUS as an example. The dynamics of European support programmes are not to be underestimated for the shaping and development of national processes of internationalisation in the field of higher education.

Implementation of internationalisation policies

The implementation of international activities in the field of higher education takes place basically on four levels: federal government, *Länder*, joint federal government/*Länder* programmes or initiatives and higher education institutions. The most important role is played by the federal government and the national support organisations. During the last few years joint federal government/*Länder* initiatives have grown in importance. As the support policies of the individual *Länder*, as well as the activities for internationalisation of the individual higher education institutions differ from each other or have a number of different emphases they can not be taken into account in detail here. A typical feature is that the federal government provides funds for international activities which are allocated to and granted by national support organisations or agencies and that the *Länder* provide their funds by means of budgeting. The funds provided in the framework of joint federal government/*Länder* initiatives are mostly allocated within special programmes. The national support of mobility is often connected to programmes and special prioritisations and thus plays the role of a steering instrument to counter existing imbalances caused by "free mover mobility" or mobility induced by (social) demand. However, the level of support within these programmes is often rather symbolic.

The implementation of policies of internationalisation in higher education is closely linked to the provision of financial means. This applies in particular to the cooperation with regions which have severe problems achieving economic growth and only limited means to finance their international relationships.

For the implementation of European support programmes the federal government has insisted on the establishment of a national structure for the implementation of European support programmes. This has led to the nomination of national agencies to administer the programmes. In Germany these agencies have been selected according to available expertise in the field covered by the respective programme. Thus the DAAD became the national agency for all European programmes in the field of higher education, except the programmes for research and technological development. Apart from that the DAAD is a national support organisation to administer and carry out its own programmes pertaining to specific regions, subject areas and groups.

During the time covered by this report, the federal government was confronted with two particular challenges in the context of its policy of internationalisation. For one thing it had to take into consideration the international relationships of East German higher education institutions after the German unification, for another the relationships with Central and Eastern Europe had to be restructured and extended as a consequence of the collapse of the socialist systems. The East German programmes for international cooperation in higher education were assessed in terms of their compatibility with the West German support system and in parts continued.

Financing

Both processes mentioned above had a considerable impact on the budgets for internationalisation. The new conditions and emphases were essentially met by a substantial increase in funding or budgets and by a re-allocation of available funds.

Funding by Federal Government

The federal government is the most important provider of funds for implementing policies of internationalisation in higher education. In this context the Foreign Office plays a special role because it supplies a high

proportion of the budget of the DAAD (cf. Table 8). Further parts of the DAAD budget come from the Federal Ministry of Education, Science, Research and Technology (BMBF), the Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation (BMZ) and the Federal Ministry of Trade and Commerce (BMWi).

The Foreign Office predominantly supplies the financial means for grants and scholarships awarded to foreigners and for exchanges of academic staff between Germany and foreign countries (including the participation in international conferences, travels of foreigners to Germany for purposes of lectures and study, visiting professorships of Germans abroad as well as placement of German lecturers abroad).

In 1996, the funds of the Foreign Office to support relations with higher education institutions abroad amounted to more than 206.4 million DM. The funds are predetermined for specific purposes. Somewhat less than 80 per cent of them was allocated for scholarships and grants to junior academic staff and students (incl. work placements) from abroad as well as the Fulbright Programme. Somewhat more than 20 per cent were allocated to support relationships between German and foreign scientists, students and higher education institutions. The scholarships and grants are awarded almost exclusively to foreign recipients while three quarters of the funds to support foreign relations are used to send German researchers and academic teachers abroad. Deployment of funds takes place world-wide. In addition, the Foreign Office also provides an annual amount of 10 to 11 million DM for a special programme to support the learning and use of German language in science and higher education in Central and Eastern Europe and the CIS since 1993. Between 1986 and 1996 the budget of the Foreign Office increased from about 125 million DM to more than 206 million DM.

The Federal Ministry for Education, Science, Research and Technology provides funds for grants and scholarships awarded to German students and graduates, junior academic staff and for mobility of other academic staff.

The Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation is responsible for support in the field of foreign aid and development policy. It provides financial means for professional training and further education of persons from developing countries, including the support of academic staff and students from these countries for stays at German higher education institutions.

The funds provided by these ministries are passed on to the various support organisations, in particular to the DADD (cf. section 4.2). Since the introduction of the European Action Programmes in the field of education there are additional funds from the EU and to a limited extent also from the *Länder*. Beyond this there are special programmes for higher education development and restructuring financed jointly by the federal government and the *Länder* which, among other things, also include measures to finance international cooperation.

Funding by the German Länder

Study places for foreign students and work places or opportunities for research for foreign teachers and researchers are mostly financed by the higher education budgets of the *Länder*. Furthermore, the higher education institutions have additional funds for international activities. Some of the *Länder* have also established special support programmes for international activities. There are, however, considerable differences among the German *Länder*.

The *Länder* have sometimes established regional emphases for cooperation with foreign countries. However, these are not binding for the higher education institutions. In other cases individual *Länder* have established their own bilateral cooperation agreements in the field of higher education with certain foreign countries or regions in the framework of which the higher education institutions of that *Land* receive extra funding. These bilateral agreements are often part of the higher education law of the respective *Land* and oriented at the principle of the "nearest neighbour", as can be shown with respect to the cooperation of Brandenburg with Central and Eastern Europe, of the Saarland with France or of Schleswig-Holstein with Scandinavian higher education institutions.

In recent years the provision of funds for international activities has stagnated in many of the *Länder* or is questioned completely. This applies, for example, to Berlin which in the past had provided its higher education institutions with funds for international cooperation. Institutions were free to use this money for a variety of activities such as exchange, business trips abroad, invitation of foreign guests, scholarships or field trips.

The financial means for direct support of international activities are especially limited in the new (East German) *Länder* (even in an economically stronger

Land such as Saxony). Special support programmes for a whole region like the USA as is the case in Baden-Württemberg can not be financed in most of the new *Länder* in the foreseeable future. The focus in the new *Länder* is therefore put on individual activities of students, teachers and researchers.

There is very little easily accessible information concerning the broad range of *Länder* activities to internationalise "their" higher education institutions. As a rule, the measures and initiaives are financed in the framework of programmes, scholarships or specid funds.

BAföG support for studies abroad

In addition to individual and progamme related support of mobility – be it in the form of a subsidy or in the form of a full scholarship or grant – there are also subsidies for study abroad inthe framework of the Federal Education Assistance Act (BAföG). The administration of BAföG, including its study abroad subsidy, is handled by the German organisation for student welfare, *Deutsches Studentenwerk* (DSW).

Since 1980 study abroad of German students who are entitled to support under the Federal Education Assisance Act is also supported by this act. Currently there are still about 60 million DM available annually for study abroad from BAföG, although BAföG support in general has decreased and eligibility has been limited.

To support studies or practical placements abroad for a duration of one year, in exceptional cases for up to five semesters (terms), a financial supplement can be granted to cover tuition fees,travel costs and health care. The level of the supplement grant varies according to the host country. This supplement for study abroad is non-repayable and only granted to those students who are eligible for federal education asistance in Germany (in 1994, 24.2 per cent of West German students and54.8 per cent of East German students were supported under the Federal Education Assistance Act). Since August 1996, study abroad supported by the supplement is counted against the maximum duration of assistance. This means that time losses because of study abroad which might lengthen the duration of studies until graduation, are no longer covered by the assistance. A reasonable lengthening of studies is acknowledged in cases of non-recognition; however, for these cases federal assistance is only granted on the basis of a repayable loan.

The proportion of students receiving BAföG assistance for the purpose of financing their study abroad is about 15 per cent (cf. 14. Sozialerhebung des DSW, 1995, S. 109). As a rule, the BAföG supplement does not cover all additional costs incurred during study abroad so that students typically combine several sources of income to finance their stay abroad.

Support Organisations

Among the actors for the implementation of internationalisation policies we can finally count the support organisations which continuously formulate statements about issues and problems of international cooperation and also initiate action. Among these organisations the DAAD is mainly responsible for supporting educational cooperation in higher education (especially mobility of students and teaching staff) and the German Research Association (DFG) as well as the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation (AvH) are responsible for the support of international cooperation in research.

The budget of the biggest support organisation, the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), was substantially increased at the beginning of the 1990s. Between 1985 and 1991 it practically doubled (from 170 million DM to 340 million DM). A clear increase of expenditures took place in the course of German unification: between 1990 and 1991 expenditure of the DAAD increased by 29 per cent after having provided already a substantially higher amount to support exchanges between East and West Germany in 1990. (Provisions of the former Federal Ministry for German-German Relationships during that year amounted to 4.1 million DM in contrast to 1.2 million DM the previous year.)

Table 8: Budget of the DAAD according to source (in million DM)

	Total budget	Foreign Office	Fed. Min. of Educ. and Science	Fed. Min. of Research and Techno-logy	Fed. Min. of Econ. Coop.	Fed. Min. of Trade and Com.	Total Federal Govern-ment	Länder	EU	Others sources
1985	170.1	116.4	29.6	1.5	8.0	-	155.5	1.2	-	13.4
		68.4 %	17.4 %	0.9 %	4.7 %	-	91.4 %	0.7 %	-	7.9 %
1995	366.6	231.8	75.0		19.1	1.2	327.2	1.3	23.5	14.3
		63.2 %	20.5 %		5.2 %	0.3 %	89.3 %	0.4 %	6.4 %	3.9 %

Calculated according to: DAAD Jahresbericht 1985, p. 12; 1995, p. 33.

Over the years, the structure of providers of funds to tDAAD has changed. Whereas the proportion supplied by the Foreign Off decreased (by about 5 per cent), the European Commission establishec self as a provider of about the same proportion (the DAAD is the "nonal agency" for all European programmes in the field of higher educati). From the Federal Ministry of Trade and Commerce the DAAD recces funds originating from the European Recovery Programme (ERP) in orr to support students of economics from some of the Central and Easterr.uropean countries.

Generally we can note that the funds available to sooort mobility do not satisfy the demand by far. The number of applicatioiis often several times as high as the number of grants which can be awardec In 1995, only 20 per cent of the German applicants received a DAAD grt.)

In addition, the annual growth rates of student mo ity supported in the framework of EU programmes have declined sir 1994. This is not surprising in the face of visibly reduced deployment European funds and even further reductions in the grant levels to not mu. more than a pocket money (cf. DAAD Jahresbericht 1995, p. 26). Oxall, the demand has increased continuously while the budget has decreal continuously.

The support provided by the DAAD has been conctrated mostly on the exchange of persons. However, the pilot programes which have been launched at the beginning of 1997 (cf. section 5.2) and hich are administered by the DAAD are focused on developments of curri.a and changes in the structure of study programmes.

Because of German unification some of the East Gerin programmes have been continued so that the number of standard :hange programmes administered by the DAAD has increased in the l few years. Ranked according to scope the range of more than 100 progr:mes administered by the DAAD can be differentiated into the following tegories:

- grants for students and graduates,
- sending German teachers (lecturers, visiting profors) abroad,
- special programmes and project related support,
- exchange of scholars and scientists,
- information programmes (cf. Grothus, 1991, p.).

About four fifths of the overall DAAD budget is spt on the support of German and foreign students and graduates.

The Alexander von Humboldt Foundation supports (AvH) international research cooperation through the exchange of scientists and scholars and has an annual budget of more than 90 million DM. Among the types of support there are:

- up to 50 research scholarships annually for foreign scientists to research at German higher education institutions (for 6 to 12 months);
- up to 200 research awards annually for foreign scientists, including an invitation (for 4 to 12 months) to work at a German research institute;
- up to 10 Feodor Lynen scholarships annually for German scientists to work at higher education institutions abroad (for 1 to 4 years);
- up to 1 Max Planck research awards annually for German and foreign scientists for purposes of international cooperation;
- 10 Chancellor scholarships for future leaders from the USA;
- a few further scholarships for special purposes.

In addition, the AvH administers research grants awarded to German scholars for stays in Japan (cf. AvH 1995).

According to its goals the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation receives its budget basically from the federal government. In 1995, 60 per cent of its budget was provided by the Foreign Office, 33.2 per cent by the Ministry for Education Science, Research and technology, 4.4 per cent by the Ministry for Economic Cooperation and 2.4 per cent by private sponsors. The overall budget was 85.9 million DM. However, since 1993 the number of grants awarded by the AvH have decreased (in 1995 the decrease was 2.4 per cent).

Since the German unification the *Länder* have provided funds to be administered by the AvH to build international meeting centres in the new *Länder*. The envisaged sum for construction is somewhat less than 69.2 million DM (cf. AvH, 1995, p. 175).

In contrast to the exchange of students the composition of subject areas of grant holders supported by the AvH shows a clear dominance of natural sciences in the mid-1990s (almost two thirds of those supported). Grant holders from the humanities had a proportion of about 25 per cent and those from engineering somewhat more than 11 per cent.

The German Research Association (DFG) supports research cooperation with foreign countries. In the framework of its programmes the following activities can be supported:

- joint research projects of longer duration;
- invitations of German and foreign scientists for research stays abroad (up to 3 months);
- participation of foreign scientists in workshops and conferences taking place in Germany;
- individual short-term and long-term stays abroad of German and foreign scientists in the framework of existing agreements.

Additionally, the DFG supported 176 international academic events and 148 international conferences in specific subject areas in 1995. The DFG has cooperation agreements with partner organisations all over the world (cf. Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, 1996, p. 153f.).

Apart from the three organisations mentioned above (DAAD, AvH, DFG) there are a number of other support organisations and private foundations which in the framework of their tasks support international activities in the field of higher education. As an example the Fulbright Commission and the Carl Duisberg Society can be named.

The German-American Fulbright Commission awards scholarships to German students for studies at a higher education institution in the USA. It also supports teaching and research fellowships for German academic staff going to the USA. The same opportunities are available for American students and academic staff wanting to come to Germany.

The Carl Duisberg Society supports among other things practical placements abroad for German *Fachhochschule* students and studies of foreign students, especially from developing countries, at German *Fachhochschulen.*

Joint Federal Government and *Länder* initiatives: special programmes for higher education

A survey carried out by the German Rectors' Conference (HRK) in 1990 came to the conclusion that the financial means of higher education institutions are generally not sufficient to cultivate academic and scientific contacts on a long-term basis or to initiate new activities and programmes. The HRK therefore demanded

> *"a substantial increase and flexible utilisation of financial means of the higher education institutions in order to plan and focus new projects in good time and thus, to be able to guarantee the continuity necessary for academic cooperation with*

foreign partners in research and teaching." (Hochschulrektorenkonferenz, 1991, p. 64)

This demand is supposed to be satisfied by the special programmes for higher education which have been established since 1989. The financial means provided by these programmes are not allocated via support organisations but mostly via the *Länder* ministries directly to the higher education institutions.

On the basis of Article 91b of the Basic Law the Federal Government and the *Länder* have agreed upon the following joint special programmes in the field of higher education since 1989:

- Special Programme for Higher Education I (HSP I; only old, i.e. West German, *Länder*), duration: March 1989 to December 1995, volume: 2.1 billion DM;
- Special Programme for Higher Education II (HSP II; only old *Länder*), duration: January 1996 to December 2000, volume: 4 billion DM;
- Higher Education Restructuring Programme (HEP; new, i.e. East German, *Länder*), duration: July 1991 to December 1996, volume: 2.4 billion DM;
- Special Programme for Higher Education III (HSP III; old and new *Länder*), renewal of HSP II with a duration from September 1996 to December 2000, volume: between 3.6 and 4.1 billion DM.

In the framework of HSP I and HSP II West German higher education institutions received around 300 positions for the strengthening of European cooperation. In addition, the *Fachhochschulen* were supported to establish offices for international relations and to develop European study programmes. Other measures within these programmes provided funds for the improvement of foreign language teaching and for the infrastructure of existing European study programmes.

The Special Programme for Higher Education III (HSP III) which was passed on September 2, 1996 and is valid from January 1, 1996 until December 31, 2000 is a further development of the aims of HSP II also taking into account HSP I and HEP.

Among other things the HSP III is supposed to contribute "to the conservation of the efficiency of teaching and research as well as to the assurance of their international competitiveness." (Bund-Länder-Kommission, 1996, p. 25)

The aim of the international part of HSP III is to develop appropriate measures for the support and expansion of exchanges and mobility among higher education institutions in Europe and internationally. A special emphasis is put on improving the infrastructure at German higher education institutions, as is expressed in the targeted support for the building and expansion of European or guest houses. In the framework of HSP III also the creation of additional student residences can be supported. These measures are supposed to improve the accommodation of foreign students and academic staff.

In order to strengthen European and international cooperation, the HSP III additionally provides 420 million DM of which 282 million DM come from the Federal Government. The Programme envisages a number of support measures, the administration and implementation of which is carried out by various actors (cf. Table 9).

Table 9: Support measures and funds to strengthen European and international cooperation in the framework of the HSP III

Measures	Funds (in DM)	Implementation
Further development of HSP II measures related to Europe	1650,000	*Länder*
European houses/guest houses	120,000	*Länder*
Study abroad scholarships for graduates	36,000	German Academic Exchange Service
Feodor-Lynen-scholarships	22,000	Alexander von Humboldt-Foundation
Scholarships for postdoctoral studies	51,000	German Academic Exchange Service
Visiting fellowships for universities and *Fachhochschulen*	26,000	German Academic Exchange Service

Source: Bund-Länder-Kommission (Hrsg.): Informationen..., 1996, p.V.

Somewhat less than 40 per cent of the funds from the international part of HSP III are provided for the strengthening of European and international cooperation and around 30 per cent for the building of European or guest houses.

Impacts of internationalisation processes on the higher education system

In the past, the German higher education system was characterised by a high degree of inertia and ambivalence vis-à-vis international influences. In the last few years public debates frequently even accused it of suffering from a structural inability to carry out or implement reforms. The support measures within the framework of ERASMUS did not result in structural changes of the national system of organisation of studies. Reservations existed especially with regard to measures which would have required structural reforms or of which it was assumed that they would lead to a harmonisation of curricula.

The low degree of flexibility and openness for structural innovations is seen today as one of the reasons why German higher education institutions have lost their attractiveness for foreign students, although in contrast to many other industrialised countries studying in Germany is still free of tuition also for foreign students.

Further reasons for the loss of attractiveness are essentially seen in the following issues:

- low degree of transparency and predictability of studies,
- language barriers,
- long duration of studies in comparison with other countries,
- lack of comparability of degrees awarded in Germany to those awarded in other countries,
- insufficient academic and social counselling and advice,
- barriers in terms of legal regulations concerning residency and access to higher education.

Since the mid-1990s, we can note a visible change in trends. Although until that time there was a political and social consensus about the need for, even the necessity of structural higher education reforms, there was no consensus about the direction of reforms and the kind of measures which should be taken. Currently this dilemma seems to be dissolving to a certain extent, especially with regard to strategies of internationalisation. The general concerns about disadvantages in competitiveness and the low attractiveness of studies in Germany for foreign students have led to the fact that proposals for measures and action are received more positively among the various actors and generate more consensus than before.

The most important proposals to increase the attractiveness of German higher education and the internationalisation of study programmes which currently find a large degree of consensus, and for parts of which measures are already envisaged to implement them, can be summarised as follows:

- easier access to higher education for foreign applicants, including access to postgraduate courses;
- improved offers of foreign language learning as well as of German as a foreign language;
- concentration and focus of study programmes as well as creation of more transparency, including the assessment of possibilities for modularisation;
- introduction of ECTS and comparable recognition arrangements, including meaningful certification;
- increase in seminars and lectures taught in English; introduction of the possibility to submit essays and examination papers in English;
- extending the possibilities to also award internationally used degrees (bachelor, master);
- terminological unification and, if necessary, additional content related explanations on the certificates concerning the academic degree and completed programme of study, including the option of an English version;
- improved counselling and academic advice for foreign students.

It becomes increasingly clear that the higher education institutions themselves are also taking an active interest in internationalisation. The SOCRATES applications of German higher education institutions show a strong intention to drive on the process of internationalisation at each individual institution over the next few years. For example, three quarters of German higher education institutions declare

> *"that they do not see their participation in the framework of SOCRATES merely in the sense of supporting physical mobility but that they also want to integrate elements of the European dimension as regular features of teaching and studying."* *(Hellmann/ Schluck, 1997, p. 6)*

Changes in the German higher education system

Apart from the initiatives currently being undertaken to internationalise German higher education, a number of changes in the system of studies have already been introduced in the past, which can be traced back to the process

of internationalisation or have been influenced by it. Among these changes we can number in particular:

- the internationalisation of degree courses and study programmes,
- the extension of foreign language opportunities at higher education institutions.

These changes have mainly occurred because of the high and active participation of German higher education institutions in the European higher education programmes (ERASMUS, LINGUA, COMETT, TEMPUS, SOCRATES, LEONARDO) as well as in the area of European research and technological development.

A survey carried out in 1994 among the actors at European higher education institutions involved in the administration and the running of ERASMUS and LINGUA programmes resulted in the following ranking of activities on the part of the German institutions:

(1) According to the view of those actors answering to a respective questionnaire the largest progress has been achieved in international exchange of students (89%).
(2) Two thirds of those surveyed saw considerable changes in terms of foreign language acquisition (66%), of teaching staff exchange (64%), of academic and administrative support for foreign students (53% and 78% resp.) and of international research cooperation (56%).
(3) Less than half of those answering the questionnaire supported the view that there had been significant changes in the relationships with the region and with industry (44%).
(4) The lowest degree of change was noted in terms of study programmes and course provision in English (33%) (cf. Maiworm/Sosa/Teichler, 1996, p. 118).

As the survey was able to show, somewhat more than half of the German higher education institutions (57%) offered European or internationalised study programmes in 1994. However, in many other European countries the proportion of such study programmes is substantially higher. In 1996, the SOCRATES applications of German higher education institutions have shown that in the meantime two thirds of German higher education institutions provide internationally oriented study programmes or are planning their introduction in the near future (cf. Hellmann/Schluck, 1997, p. 5). The contents of these study programmes are, however, quite different in quality and quantity.

In the academic year 1992/93, individual study programmes were taught partly or completely in English at 42 per cent of the German higher education institutions surveyed in the framework of the study mentioned before. Type and scope of such provision are, however, quite variable. The highest number of provisions in study programmes taught in a foreign language could be found in language studies (42%). All other subject areas were taught in a foreign language to a substantially lower degree, among them most often in economics, agricultural sciences, law and engineering (about one fifth to one tenth of German institutions surveyed). Courses taught in a foreign language were more infrequent in the social sciences and humanities and were not offered at all, for example, in medicine and communication/information studies (cf. Maiworm/Sosa/Teichler, 1996, p. 79).

Since the mid-1980s the process of internationalisation of German higher education is characterised by two additional features. Firstly, since the German unification the East German higher education institutions have made all kinds of efforts to extend their international relations towards the West and within a rather short time have achieved a high rate of participation in the EU action programmes. This would not have been possible without the support of the national agencies and support organisations. For example, during the academic year 1995/96 the higher education institutions in the state of Saxony – the *Land* with the highest capacity in higher education among the new *Länder* – were involved in 210 cooperation programmes of which they coordinated 18 themselves. In the same academic year 729 Saxonian students studied at an institution in another EU Member State and 662 students from EU Member States came to spend a period of study in Saxony (cf. Freistaat Sachsen, 1996, p. 36f.).

Secondly, the German *Fachhochschulen* have undertaken great efforts towards internationalisation during the last few years, to catch up with the classical universities. The high degree of openness of *Fachhochschulen* to the more organised and structured European support programmes can be put down to the fact that *Fachhochschule* courses are also more strongly organised and structured than university courses are. In the meantime *Fachhochschulen* have even taken over a leading role in many areas of European cooperation. This is especially true in terms of internationalisation of curricula and of introduction of integrated study abroad, including double degrees. In 1993, there were 34 European study programmes in economics (incl. economic engineering and economic informatics) at West German higher education

institutions, of which 20 were offered at *Fachhochschulen*. In engineering 15 of 23 European study programmes were offered at *Fachhochschulen* (cf. Staufenbiel 1993).

The federal government and *Länder* have specifically supported the establishment and extension of offices for foreign relations at *Fachhochschulen*. In its recommendations concerning the perspectives of *Fachhochschulen* for the 1990s, the Science Council has also supported explicitly the initiatives of *Fachhochschulen* to find new ways of international cooperation in teaching by developing integrated study abroad programmes with full recognition (cf. Wissenschaftsrat 1988).

Internationalisation of Degree Courses and Study Programmes

Whereas study abroad has already been established as one of the "classical instruments" of internationalisation in higher education, special challenges for each institution and each subject area are connected to the internationalisation of the contents of studies. Without changing the core canon of academic fields of study, however, internationalisation coming from the "margins" can also lead to important opportunities although they cover only some aspects of the field (cf. Wissenschaftsrat, 1992, p. 55).

According to the recommendations of the Science Council students should, for example, in the framework of such offers

> *"be made familiar with methods and results of internationally comparative research as well as acquire the capacity for professional mobility. This is less connected to the idea of a classical "studium generale" than to special contents of studies making sense in relation to the subject area as well as being useful for later professional work (for example, course options related to cultural comparisons and intercultural communication)" (Wissenschaftsrat, 1992, p. 55).*

Although the internationalisation of curricula is an integral component of German higher education policy, its implementation in concrete cases is a lengthy process of negotiation in which rather diverse interests have to be taken into account (cf. Schnitzer/Korte, p. 8). This problem might also be one of the reasons that there is a rather broad range of different types of internationalised curricula at German higher education institutions.

However, it must be taken into account that in most cases the internationalised degree courses or study programmes are still in an experimental state or trial phase. Nevertheless, there is a special interest in German *Fachhochschulen*

as regards the internationalisation of course programmes because they could thus extend their orientation to professional practice and gain competitive advantages on the market for their degrees.

Extension of Foreign Language Provisions

The provision of foreign languages at German higher education institutions meanwhile comprises a broad range of languages, including lesser used and taught languages. There are higher education institutions offering tuition in more than 100 foreign languages. However, these options are very diverse regarding their form of institutionalisation. Compulsory foreign language education is rather an exception (especially at universities).

After the German unification foreign language tuition in Russian was kept up at a great number of East German higher education institutions, but not any longer as a compulsory part of higher education studies (as it used to be in the GDR before 1989). With the end of the East-West-conflict, opportunities to study Russian have also increased at West German higher education institutions.

Special efforts to increase foreign language options have been undertaken by the *Fachhochschulen*. Some of the newly established Fachhochschulen in the new *Länder* were able to take over the foreign language programmes of their predecessor institutions and thus, to reduce the differences existing in comparison with what is on offer at universities.

According to a study published at the beginning of the 1990s, foreign languages are offered at 90 per cent of all *Fachhochschulen* ranging in scope from strict limitation and subject related emphasis (like "nautical English") to the classical West German list of foreign language options (English and French), and finally to a broad range (English, French, Italian, Japanese, modern Greek, Portuguese, Spanish, and Turkish). Rarely on offer are Russian, Chinese, Arabic, Swedish, Dutch, Czech, Polish, and Serbo-Croat. The total number of different foreign languages on offer at *Fachhochschulen* is 20 (cf. GEW, 1991, p. 47).

Equally varied as the provision of foreign language tuition is the institutional integration and status of these subjects in examination regulations. Existing practices range from being a compulsory part of subject related studies to optional compulsory, and to being an additional option, for example in the framework of summer courses.

A new offensive to internationalise contents of studies

With the consent of the *Länder* the Federal Government started a new offensive to improve the international competitiveness of higher education institutions in 1996. In the framework of this initiative some decisive steps are currently being undertaken to internationalise the contents of study programmes. The Federal Ministry of Education, Science, Research and Technology has provided around 30 million DM until the year 2000 to finance an "Action Programme for the Support of Studies Undertaken by Foreign Students at German Higher Education Institutions" designed by the DAAD in cooperation with the German Rectors' Conference (HRK). The measures envisaged in this Action Programme have the following priorities:

- development and support of study programmes attractive to foreign students;
- improvement of practices of access and recognition;
- improvement of framework conditions concerning legal regulations for foreigners;
- support to cope with language requirements (German as a foreign language);
- improvement of information and higher education marketing. (DAAD, Aktionsprogramm, 1997, S. 1)

Two pilot programmes are of special interest in the framework of the DAAD Action Programme: the pilot programme "study programmes oriented to foreign students" and the "Bachelor/Master programme". The first programme is intended to further internationalise contents of studies and make studying in Germany more attractive to foreign students. The second programme is designed to orient German structures of study more strongly to international standards in order to achieve a higher degree of comparability and acceptance of German degrees. Until March 1997, individual higher education institutions could submit a proposal for the introduction of a respective study programme or a "Bachelor/Master programme" to the DAAD. After positive assessment of their proposal institutions will receive the appropriate financial means to implement their plans.

In a pressrelease dated February 28, 1997 concerning the action programme the Federal Minister for Education and Research, Jürgen Rüttgers, stated:

"All actors involved expect that the new study programmes will result in a considerable innovative thrust towards graded course programmes, teaching in

143

English and more focused study in Germany. With this the German higher education institutions are proving their intention to innovate and their willingness to take up the challenge of the ever growing international competition."

Pilot programme "Study programmes oriented to foreign students (AS-Programme)"

Starting in the winter term 1997/98, models will be introduced at universities and *Fachhochschulen* to implement "study programmes oriented to foreign students" (initially for a duration of four years).

Envisaged subject areas for participation in these pilot projects are economics, engineering sciences and some areas of the natural sciences. About half of the students are expected to be Germans, the other half foreigners. The teaching languages will be German and one foreign language (e.g. English, French, Spanish).

Study programmes supported in the framework of the pilot programmes are intended to

- contribute to reforms of the structure of studies by pointing out conditions and possibilities for successful completion of a degree course within the standard period of study;
- increase and show the attractiveness of studying at German higher education institutions to highly qualified foreigners;
- combine professional education and training of students with multilingualism and international cooperation.

The number of participants accepted annually for each study programme is between 40 and 60. Interested students will be selected according to performance criteria and have to have above average qualifications.

Within the HRK a commission will be established, consisting of representatives from higher education institutions (candidates are nominated by the DAAD and the HRK) and representatives from the political sphere (Federal Ministry of Education, Science, Research and Technology and *Länder*). The tasks of this commission are to establish policy guidelines and criteria for awarding support, to decide on applications and to determine the level of grant awarded to the individual projects proposed. (Cf. HRK/ DAAD: Ausssschreibung..., p. 6)

Diplom-/Magister-/Master-programmes for foreign graduates with a first degree ("Bachelor-Master-Programme")

With the "Diplom-/Magister-/Master-Programme for Foreign Graduates with a First Degree" opportunities will be created for German higher education institutions to award Bachelor and Master degrees typical for the Anglo-Saxon system and parallel to the usual German degrees of *Diplom* and *Magister*.

With this programme the DAAD wants to promote and support the development of course options enabling more flexible access and a shorter duration of postgraduate and doctoral studies for highly qualified graduates from abroad with a bachelor's degree.

The introduction of the "Bachelor/Master Programme" has been decided to help solve the problem that foreign higher education graduates with a first or a bachelor degree need considerably more time in Germany than in other countries to finish degree programmes leading to a *Diplom*, a *Magister* or a doctoral degree. The following reasons for this problem have been identified:

- The German higher education system does not offer a first university degree at the level of a bachelor. This leads to considerable problems to classify the bachelor's degree in relationship to the German *Diplom* which hardly does justice to the curricular differences.
- As a rule, graduates with a bachelor's degree (even with highest qualifications) have to acquire a *Diplom* or *Magister* degree first before they can go on to doctoral studies.

The new programme is supposed to lead selected foreign graduates with a highly qualified bachelor's degree or similar qualification to a *Diplom/ Magister* or Master degree in 2.5 years time (maximum). As an alternative it also offers the opportunity to get a doctoral degree after the shortest time possible (four or a maximum of five years) without being forced to get a *Diplom* or *Magister* degree first. (Cf. HRK/DAAD: Ausschreibung..., p. 1)

For each of these degree programmes an annual quota is foreseen of 20 to 40 graduates with a highly qualified bachelor's degree. Participants will be selected according to performance criteria and may not have studied for more than one term at a German higher education institution. Higher education institutions are free to recruit appropriate candidates from foreign countries or select them from applications at hand. An intensive language preparation is part of the programme. The programme is supposed to start

in 1997 and finish in 2001 at the earliest. A renewal is planned provided that an evaluation of the programme shows positive results.

Furthermore, the aim is to develop a concept for an internationally comparative credit point system which can fulfil conditions for recognition to ease a change from a higher education institution abroad to one in Germany and vice versa (cf. "Hochschulen für das 21. Jahrhundert", p. 8). The European system of ECTS, which was developed as a pilot project in 1989 and has been tested since, was always quite controversial among German higher education institutions (cf. HRK: Internationalisierung..., 1991, p. 12). The main issue in this controversy was to prevent any influence of the EU on national contents of studies and examination regulations. However, in the context of the SOCRATES application and the institutional contract linked to it the willingness of German higher education institutions to introduce ECTS has increased considerably.

Reciprocal influences of national and international policies

Although the German higher education institutions have participated actively and successfully in European action programmes in the field of higher education for a number of years, no recognisable influence of international policies could be found on the structure of the German system of higher education. Even if curricula were broadened to include international aspects, hardly any changes occurred in the structure of study programmes and degrees. Thus, for example, Germany is one of the very few European countries in which an OECD country review has never been carried out. The political system of Federal Government competence for foreign relations, responsibility of the *Länder* in educational and cultural affairs and freedom of teaching and research at higher education institutions have always made the implementation of reforms of structures and contents in higher education a complex and difficult affair. This situation was additionally aggravated by a continuous expansion of student numbers and serious cuts in the financial budgets of the institutions.

In the mid-1990s, various studies as well as assessments on the side of the political actors finally showed that studying in Germany had become less and less attractive for foreigners. Thus, the competitiveness of the German higher education sector was regarded as being in danger and the possibility became apparent to achieve a socio-political consensus beyond the statement of

structural needs for reform, i.e. a consensus about concrete measures and steps to implement appropriate initiatives. However, in the face of current pessimism concerning the low degree of attractiveness of German higher education for foreign students, it must be noted that this applies to a lesser extent to ERASMUS students. Politically the "loss of competitiveness" is rather related to the fact that a loss of interest was noted from students coming from Japan and the Asian-Pacific region. These regions have a different status in the framework of economic cooperation than the Member States of the EU.

In the face of tight budgets everywhere and expected further cuts in higher education funding envisaged activities can only be carried out currently if they do not require additional financial means or if special programmes are established also providing for additional funding. If we may believe the programmatic and political statements of the Federal Government, the *Länder* and other organisations, the willingness to undertake concrete steps towards a stronger internationalisation and initiate or agree to and promote appropriate measures, is currently considerably higher than in the past ten or 15 years.

From the list of proposals for the internationalisation of studies and degree courses compiled at the beginning of section 5 it can be noted that international influences on the range of potential options for reforms of the German higher education system are rather high. This is not to say that any specific model will be adopted, however, various elements of international, often European structural reforms in higher education are being debated and proposals are made to adopt them experimentally as models of good practice or in the form of pilot projects. Examples for this are the proposals to introduce ECTS, bilingual degree programmes or the restructuring of degrees according to the Anglo-American model of Bachelor and Master.

International network activities have been developed and supported, especially in the framework of ERASMUS, and German universities have participated in them to a large extent. In the meantime, international networking has become a regular factor in the everyday practice of higher education. This development has taken place – and not only in Germany – almost unnoticed by national policies and politics and has reached a new stage with the required formulation of a European policy statement on which the institutional contract in the framework of SOCRATES will be based. As the

formulation of mission statements has not been usual in Germany up to now, this requirement may serve German higher education institutions to focus and reflect their processes of internationalisation in a more strategic way.

In other areas the German higher education system will probably not adopt measures which are influenced by international discussions and structural reforms which have taken place elsewhere. For example, despite intense and controversial discussions in 1996, studying in Germany will remain for the time being free of tuition fees. There is also no discussion concerning the dissolution of the binary structure of universities and *Fachhochschulen* as has been done in some European countries. However, if the introduction of the Bachelor/Master model of degrees should prove successful and be extended it can be expected that the German *Fachhochschulen* will seek for recognition of their degrees as a master's degree. As a consequence we might have a renewed discussion about the status and the value of degrees as well as the difference between degrees awarded at universities on the one hand and awarded at *Fachhochschulen* on the other. Finally, practices of evaluation which have been developed in Germany and concerning questions of quality of research, teaching and administration at higher education institutions are more decentralised and also more often organised by the institutions themselves. Although the HRK seems to prefer a central evaluation agency, we cannot note any approaches pointing in this direction so far.

A more international composition of teaching and research staff at German higher education institutions is made difficult because of the German civil service status of this group of persons. Only in exceptional cases civil service positions or tenured positions as civil service employees will be open to persons with another than German nationality. However, exchanges or taking over a visiting professorship or substituting for a professor for a limited period of time remain unaffected by civil service regulations.

If we analyse reciprocal influences it can be noted that international influences on the German policies for internationalisation and higher education reforms are currently stronger than the thrust coming from the German higher education system and affecting internationalisation policies in other countries. But we can also note that the German *Fachhochschule* model is internationally recognised and of interest. This holds true especially for the transformation countries in Central and Eastern Europe. It also

served as a model for the introduction of *Fachhochschulen* in Austria in the first half of the 1990s, irrespective of necessary adaptations because of national structures and traditions (cf. Pechar, 1996).

Finally, an interruption of West German reform discussions and measures taking place up to 1989/90 should be noted because of German unification and the comprehensive tasks to integrate two quite different systems of higher education, to evaluate the whole system of higher education and research in East Germany and last but not least to also finance it. The historical opportunity of a basic reform of both systems of higher education was not taken up and led to the situation that the West German system of higher education was transferred to East Germany, including all its strengths but also all its weaknesses. Those reform projects and reform discussions which had begun in West Germany around the turn of the decade broke off because of the pressure to deal with German unification problems. Only recently have these discussions been taken up again, however, on a different level and with somewhat different priorities. These latter are much more influenced by international debates than was the case at the beginning of the 1990s.

However, the activities described in this report should not cover up the fact that in comparison to other European countries the internationalisation of German higher education is less advanced. Not much has happened so far in terms of recognition of foreign degrees, course provisions taught in English and integrated study abroad, although there are some beginnings and individual attempts and although the German *Fachhochschulen* have progressed further in these respects than the universities. During the last few years, the German higher education institutions have demanded a higher degree of autonomy in order to initiate reforms themselves, including reforms in the field of internationalisation. Some leeway for institutional initiatives has been provided by introducing so-called opening or experimental clauses into the higher education laws of the *Länder* but also by improving the infrastructure in the framework of the special programme for higher education (HSP III). This trend gives cause for optimism, although structural changes on the systems level still have to be implemented. A higher degree of autonomy and leeway for own initiatives of the institutions also frequently lead to the effect that federal government and *Länder* withdraw from funding of such initiatives and rather restrict themselves to improvements of infrastructure due to financial constraints.

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Greece

Antonis Antoniou
I.K.Y., Athens

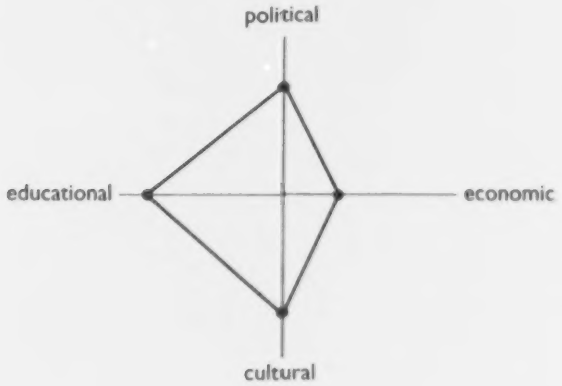
Fundamental ideas

The education policy is based on raising the educational level of the population with an emphasis on improving equality of opportunity and increasing the possibilities for individual and optional choice.

Some important development objectives are enhancement of quality, combating unemployment through means of education, ensuring the appropriate resources, promoting links between education and working life, adding the dimension of internalisation and finally stimulating lifelong learning.

Over the last 7-8 years we can notice the reflection on these objectives in the light of the statements of the European Union concerning the free mobility of persons on the internal market, the sense of European citizenship, and the recognition of foreign studies and degrees .

Rationales for the internationalisation policy of Greece



National policy

The national policy with regard to the internationalisation of higher education in Greece is mainly expressed by the State Scholarship Foundation (I.K.Y.). I.K.Y is supervised by the Ministry of National Education and Religious Affairs. The board of I.K.Y. is appointed by the Ministry of Education and has seven members from the academic community.

Most of the financial support provided by I.K.Y. takes the form of scholarships, which include awards to Greek graduates of universities and institutes of technological education, for postgraduate studies in Greece or abroad, to foreigners and ethnic Greeks for study courses in Greece, to undergraduate students for study at Greek universities, to participants in special programmes and to the students at Greek higher education institutions going abroad in the framework of the European Union's Erasmus and Lingua Programmes. There is also support to Greek students, with a postgraduate scholarship from I.K.Y. in Greece, in order to benefit from the Erasmus opportunities by working for some months in a university in an E.U. ciuntry.

I.K.Y. with its accumulated experience in international student exchanges and scholarships, helps the Greek Universities to organise their services for international relations and within this framework proceedsto act for a better implementation of the Socrates programme.

The Second Community Support Framework in Education and Initial Training helps I.K.Y., and by I.K.Y. the Ministry of Education, to expand and improve the scholarship policy and the dimension of the internalisation of education.

Procedure to establish the policy

Key players

The key players in the internalisation policy in Greece are:

- The Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs.
- The higher education institutions and
- The intermediary organisations.

Consultation

Internalisation is put on the agenda of I.K.Y. and on the agenda of the associations of both universities and institutes of technological education.

The Minister asks I.K.Y to contribute policy recommendations, issued after discussions with representatives of the higher education institutions. Policy recommendations can be submitted to the Ministry from every social or educational partner.

The administration of Cultural Agreements is handled by I.K.Y.

Decision making

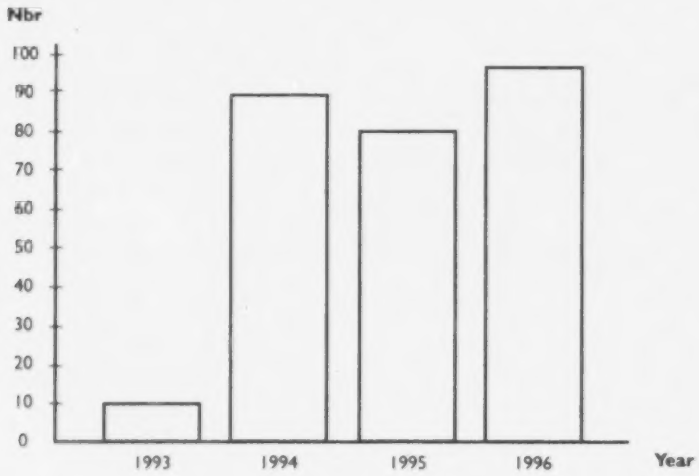
The decision making process is based on consultation. Consultations are held with representatives of the universities, of the institutes of technological education (T.E.I.), of industry, commerce, professional organisations etc.

On the basis of the consultation process, the Minister formulates policy priorities and establishes conditions for possible financial support. The consultation is a sort of negotiating process through which the Minister tries to gain support, possibly even consensus, for his policy.

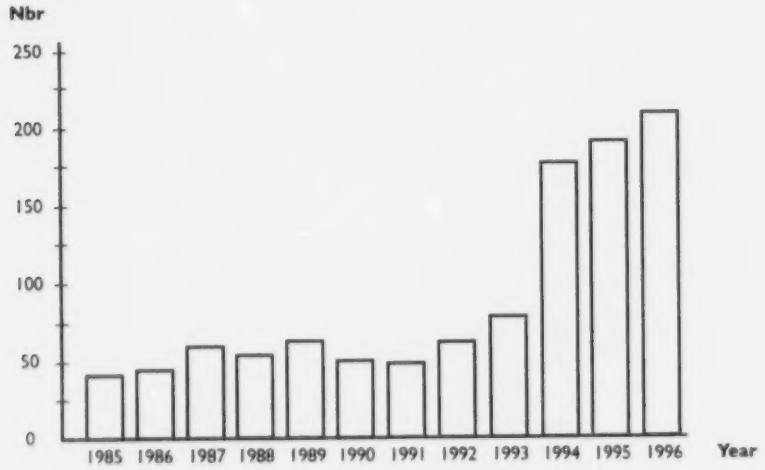
Implementation

The following charts provide an overview of the progress of the internalisation. The very positive influence of Erasmus, Lingua and Socrates programmes on the internalisation of higher education should be noted in this context.

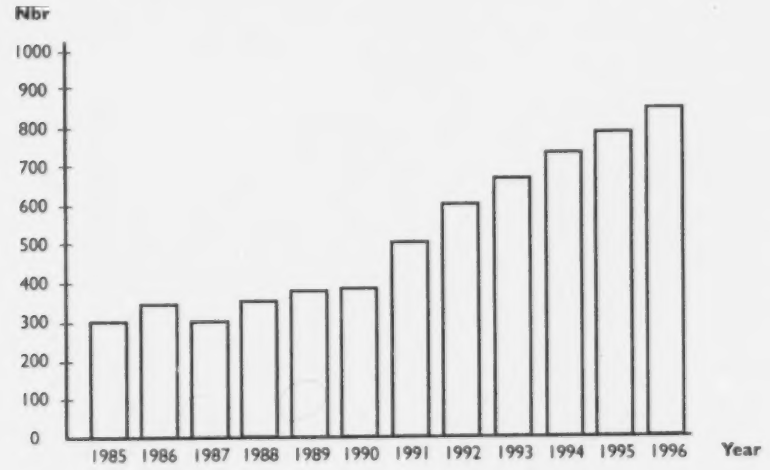
Scholarships for foreigners for undergraduate studies



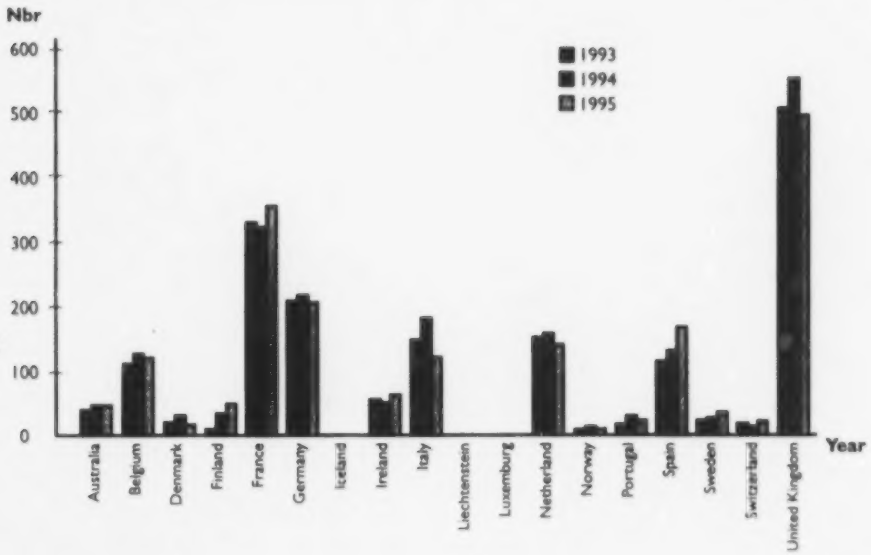
Scholarships for foreigners for postgraduate studies



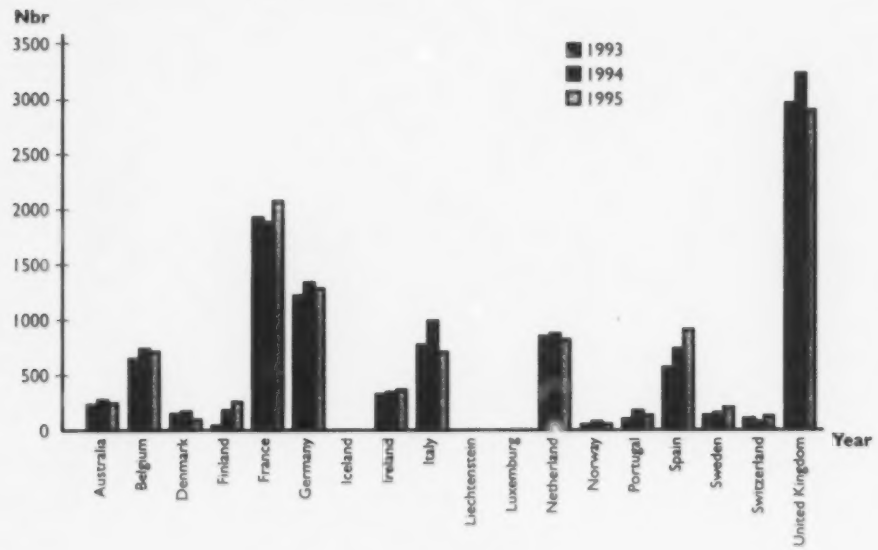
Scholarships for Greek nationals for studies abroad



Students and countries 1993/1994/1995



Students – Months 1993/1994/1995



Changes in the system

Changes in the higher education system that can be attributed to internalisation are:

- The use of English as a medium of instruction in some post graduate courses.
- The transferability of grants. The students are allowed to take their grant with them when they go abroad for a study period of less than one year.
- The credit transfer system (ECTS).
- The quality assessment.
- The action "Scholarships" in the Second Community Support Framework in Education and Initial Training stimulates
  - i) the creation of common postgraduate studies between T.E.I and foreign or Greek Universities.
  - ii) the mobility of students
  - iii) postdoctoral research
  - iv) the mobility under cultural agreements
  - v) the specialisation of administrators through postgraduate studies abroad and work in international or European organisations.

Interaction between multilateral and national initiatives

- The transferability of grants.
- The quality assessment.
- The European view of promoting the less widely used languages.
- I.K.Y. and the universities of Athens and Ioannina organised in 1966 two months intensive courses in the Greek language for foreign students. This was a pilot programme and proved a very big success. It is going to be a regular programme in the future.
- The Centre of the Greek Language of Thessaloniki has published a list of all the institutions and associations offering courses in the Greek language.
- In the context of Lingua and in relation to Community actions to promote less widely used languages, I.K.Y and the Centre of the Greek Language have taken the initiative of preparing and publishing a little book on the seven less widely used languages in the European Union.
- In the same context I.K.Y. and the Centre of the Greek Language are going to collect and publish every initiative of every country in the EU concerning the teaching of the less widely used languages.

The Netherlands

Hans van Dijk
Nuffic

General outline of the national policy for internationalisation of higher education

The Dutch national policy should be understood in the context of its development over the last decade. Initially there was a need to stimulate a rather isolated higher education community to become more internationally outward looking. When this policy of general stimulation led to considerable success, the national policy gradually shifted towards the present specific objectives. The Minister of Education encourages the higher education institutions to implement his policy objectives of cooperation among neighbouring countries, opportunities for mobility of gifted students and export of knowledge.

Rationales of the country's internationalisation policy

Traditionally there was no strong international orientation in Dutch higher education (as distinct from research which is not dealt with in this paper). In some disciplines such as cultural anthropology, tropical agriculture, etc. an international orientation was almost natural. In academic teaching international comparative approaches, the use of different paradigms and theoretical approaches was and is quite common. But international exchange and cooperation were limited. Up to the mid-eighties the bilateral Cultural Agreements were almost the only instrument at national level for international exchange.

The foundation for adopting an active policy was laid by an OECD review in 1985 of the state of Dutch higher education. The reviewers had claimed that Dutch higher education was threatened by parochialism. There was a danger of isolation and of lack of competitiveness.
In the same period policy formation stimulated the discussions of the Ministers of Education meeting in the framework of the European Council.

The reply to the unfavourable OECD review was the white paper *Internationalisation of Education and Research,* issued in September 1987,

which aimed to optimise the use of possibilities that an international orientation and co-operation offer to strengthen Dutch and European education and research. Underlying motives were formulated included the fostering of an international attitude among academics and students, the improvement of the quality of education and a better preparation for the future professions of the students.

The improvement of the quality of education became an even more prominent motive for internationalisation in the policy document *Grenzen verleggen (Widening horizons)*, published in December 1991. Emphasis was placed on structured co-operation and sustainable effects. Regional co-operation with Flanders and the bordering German *Lander* was introduced as a new policy aim as well as promoting the influx of foreign students.

In later years, when the international contacts of Dutch institutions of higher education had increased considerably, especially through the promotion of student mobility, the national government no longer aimed at the general stimulation of internationalisation. Three elements became predominant in the policy of the Ministry of Education and Science (later Education, Culture and Science):

- the neighbouring countries' policy,
- 'export of knowledge' (through the influx of fee-paying foreign students), and
- promotion of the mobility of excellent students.

These aims became predominant in the *Higher Education and Research Plan (HOOP 94)*, published in late 1993 and were confirmed in the HOOP 96.

The philosophy behind these new aims seems to be the long-term competitiveness of the Dutch national economy more than the quality and competitiveness of higher education, which is considered to be a precondition for future economic relations and prosperity.
In 1996 a major process to restructure foreign policy was launched, the aim of which is to bring foreign policy, foreign trade relations and cultural policy (i.a. international educational relations) more in line.

In April 1997 a policy document *Onbegrensd talent* (the title has a double connotation of infinite talent and talent not limited within borders) was published which confirms the policy objectives that have been developed

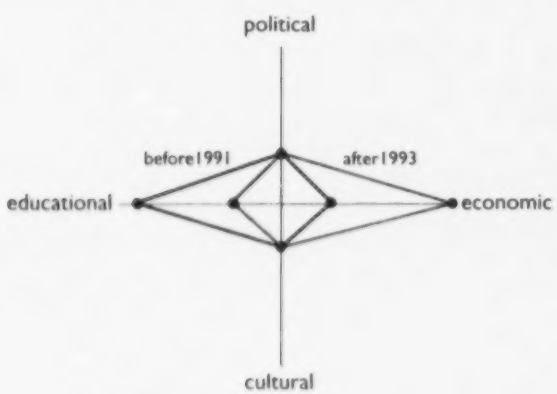
over the last years. It also confirms the ongoing support for a complementary European higher education policy.

The former Minister, Deetman, initially supported the internationalisation process within the institutions of higher education, but in later years the present Minister Ritzen has tended more and more to follow his own priorities (neighbouring countries policy, influx of foreign students, gifted students).

In terms of the 'rationales' model presented in the introductory chapter, one can say that the rationales for the national policy have shifted from being strongly educational in the initial phase until after the publication of Widening Horizons in 1991. From 1993 onwards there is clear evidence that the policy rationale becomes predominantly economical.

The political and cultural dimensions were given a very low profile during the whole period. One might explain the ongoing support for the European Union initiatives as a (partly) political rationale and there is a clear cultural dimension in the joint language policy together with Flanders, but these rationales never receive a strong emphasis in any of the policy documents.

Rationales for the internationalisation policy of Netherlands



Priorities of the national policy

General stimulation of internationalisation

In the first phase (1987-1990) the policy was aimed at the improvement of the general level of international activity. The STIR programme was set up to provide a financial impetus for this activity. STIR was at first mainly used to set up an infrastructure in higher education institutions and to give grants to students for study abroad. The STIR stimulation policy coincided with the European policy through the ERASMUS programme. STIR and ERASMUS were considered to be in line with one another and to be complementary.

Special attention was given to the stimulation of the internationalisation of *Hogescholen*, the non-university institutions of higher education. They were considered to be lagging behind the universities in their international orientation and received a stimulation budget of about four times the size of that of the universities (an average of 10 million guilders against 2.5 million for the universities, but universities received another 2.5 million additional funding for the stimulation of international orientation in research).

As of 1991, the stimulation policy was focused more on structural co-operation and sustainable effects. An evaluation of the STIR programme in 1990 had shown that more than 60% of the funds went to student grants. The rest was mostly used for setting up an infrastructure.

Also as of 1991, staff exchange and curriculum development and intensive co-operation with a focused group of partners should be aimed at.

A second evaluation of STIR in 1994 showed that most of the funds still went to student mobility, although in a more structured setting.

STIR was ended in December 1996, indicating the end of a policy of general stimulation of internationalisation.

Neighbouring countries policy

With the GENT agreement of 1990 between the Netherlands and Flanders a new policy of regional cross-border co-operation was initiated. This agreement first of all aimed at co-ordinating educational policy formulation in the Netherlands and Flanders. This has not led to many tangible results

for the higher education sector. A limited GROS programme was created in the Netherlands to support projects in cross-border co-operation.

Gradually the neighbouring countries policy was extended to the German states of *Nordrhein-Westphalia, Lower Saxony* and *Bremen.* It was also changed from bilateral to multilateral, although the Netherlands remained the main supporter and contributor of this policy.

In *Onbegrensd talent* the neighbouring countries policy is reconfirmed. An extension is foreseen towards the UK and France.

Export of knowledge

Already in 1987, at the beginning of the formulation of a policy on internationalisation of higher education, it was noted that the absolute number and the relative percentage of foreign students in the Netherlands was limited. Compared to other European countries, the Netherlands with just over 2% foreign students scored very low. At first nothing specific was done about this fact.

In 1991, in *Grenzen verleggen* it was noted that the Netherlands was suffering from an imbalance between incoming and outgoing students: more students were said to go abroad. A more detailed analysis of the student streams (Van der Wende 1992) showed that this phenomenon occurred especially with respect to exchange students, as contrary to regular degree students, and even then only in specific cases. Some measures were taken to improve the influx of foreign students with the aim of improving the quality of education for the home-students through contacts with foreign exchange students. This policy aim was short-lived and did not recur in subsequent policy documents.

In HOOP 94 a strong plea was made for enhancing the influx of foreign degree seeking students, especially from outside the European Union. The aim of this policy was to maintain the long-term competitive position of the Dutch economy. Foreign graduates of Dutch higher education establishments were considered to become key-contacts for the Dutch export industry. Universities were stimulated to go along with this policy by offering them a short term benefit in the form of the opportunity to request full-cost tuition fees. This policy was restated in HOOP 96 and in *Onbegrensd talent.* It remains one of the main objectives of the Dutch internationalisation policy.

Gifted students

In the mid-nineties a shift can be noted in the policy concerning the promotion of short term study abroad. From the mid-eighties until *Grenzen verleggen* full support was given to student exchange in a general way by means of the STIR programme and the European action programmes (mainly Erasmus). Already in *Grenzen verleggen* it was announced that the emphasis in the STIR programme should shift from student exchange to staff exchange, curriculum development and structural co-operation.

In HOOP 94 it was noted that the aim of increasing the percentage of students with a study abroad experience had been achieved. And indeed a percentage of over 10% mobile students had been achieved. It was then argued that the quantity was not all that important and that study abroad of high quality should be aimed at.

In 1995 a programme for study and placement in Japan was set up. A limited number of carefully selected students are admitted each year to this programme.

As of 1997 a programme for 'gifted students' gives the opportunity to again a limited number of selected students to pursue post-graduate studies abroad.

Policy development

The actors

The key players in the internationalisation policy in the Netherlands have been and still are

- the Ministry of Education and Science (later Education, Culture and Science),
- the higher education institutions, and
- intermediary organisations: the associations of the universities (VSNU) and of the *Hogescholen* (HBO Council), the student unions and Nuffic.

The Minister formulates the objectives of the national policy and provides the instruments; the main instrument being funding, at first through the general stimulation programme STIR, later through more specific programmes and allocations.

The higher education institutions more and more develop a policy of their own. The general stimulation policy helped them to reach a certain level of achievement. Now they tend to set their own objectives and become less dependant on national or European stimulation, although any source of additional funding is still welcomed.

The associations of the universities (VSNU) and of the *Hogescholen* (HBO Council) tend to put internationalisation policy higher on their agenda. Both have a committee on internationalisation where common objectives and strategies are discussed. These associations are the counterparts of the Minister of Education in the formal discussions and negotiations on the internationalisation policy.

Nuffic, the Netherlands organisation for international co-operation in higher education serves as a professional organisation, instrumental for the implementation of the internationalisation policy. Its role is not to speak on behalf of the higher education sector (that is the role of the associations), but to administer stimulation programmes, to provide information, to help to build infrastructure and networks, to monitor and evaluate (the implementation of) internationalisation policy and to give expert advice.

Consultation

The initiative for creating an internationalisation policy came from the Ministry of Education and Science at the instigation of the negative OECD review. The Minister formally asked the Advisory Council of Higher Education to present an analysis and policy recommendations.

On the basis of the advice given, a draft policy document 'Internationalisation of Education and Science' was issued and discussed with representatives of the higher education institutions in the *Hoger Onderwijs Kamer* (Higher Education Chamber). This process of consultation led to the publication of the final version of the policy document in the same year (1987).

Nuffic was given a central role in the implementation of the policy:

- the STIR programme was to be administered,
- an information centre for study abroad in Europe was to be set up,
- the administration of Cultural Agreements was transferred from the Ministry to Nuffic.

The formal process of consultation was maintained through the Higher Education Chamber, where internationalisation was put on the agenda once or twice a year. The student unions are consulted in the Student Chamber. In recent years these formal consultations tend to become less frequent. Negotiations are more often held directly with the associations, groups of institutions (consortia) or with individual institutions.

Internationalisation is also discussed with the associations of both universities (VSNU) and *hogescholen* (HBO Council) in the framework of the bi-annual HOOP cycles: every second year the Ministry publishes a draft Higher Education and Research Plan which is thoroughly discussed with the representatives of the higher education institutions. Internationalisation is an element in the plan. The plan, once adopted, forms the basis for higher education policy in the next two years.

At the level of the implementation of internationalisation, Nuffic organises up to five meetings each year with representatives at the administrative level of both the universities and the *hogescholen*.

Decision making

The decision making process is very much based on consultation. On the basis of a draft document formulated by policy officers within the Ministry of Education and Science, with the approval of the Minister, consultations are held with representatives of the (associations of the) universities and *hogescholen* and with representatives of the students (unions). The consultation is a sort of negotiating process through which the Minister tries to gain support for his policy, possibly even consensus.

In the case of the first policy document *Internationalisering van Onderwijs en Onderzoek* (1987) the Minister had first requested advice from an independent advisory council, the ARHO.

It should be noted, however, that the Minister initially supported the internationalisation process within the institutions of higher education, but that he in later years, beginning after *Grenzen verleggen* (1991) tended more and more to follow his own priorities (neighbour countries policy, influx of foreign students, gifted students).

Since universities and *hogescholen* are developing their own strategies and become more pro-active, the relation to the national policy formulated by the Minister changes. Some institutions may want to act on some of the priorities set by the Minister, others may want to follow the Minister in other priorities. Some universities have been allocated 4.5 million NGL over a three year period to participate in the neighbouring countries policy. Others will hope to gain the Minister's support for their foreign student recruitment. All of them at the same time will continue to invest in their European cooperation for which they will seek support from the European Commission and invest in other networks with their own resources or outside funding.

Where before the Minister set general conditions for funding, the Minister now formulates policy priorities and establishes conditions for possible financial support.

Monitoring

Monitoring has been part of the process of most, if not all, of the programmes for internationalisation. Nuffic, as the administrator of the most important of the programmes, STIR, submitted each year a report to the Ministry on the implementation of the programmes.

Evaluations have been held of the different phases of the STIR programme in 1991, 1993 and 1996. The same procedure was applied to other programmes.

An elaborate evaluation of the different policies formulated in *Grenzen verleggen* has been undertaken in 1995/1996 in preparation for the new policy document for the medium term, *Onbegrensd talent.*

It must be noted, however, that some of the new policy directions that have been formulated do not seem to follow on from an evaluation of the results of their predecessors. The present emphasis on gifted students is justified with the large numbers of students that have gone abroad through STIR, Erasmus etc, which leads in the view of the Ministry to cases of 'academic tourism'. However, no thorough evaluation of the effects of STIR on students and of the need for support for the academic community has been carried out.

The way in which new policy initiatives have been taken, without taking into account the result of previous policies, has been labelled in a study by Nuffic as *stapelbeleid* ("heap up policy") (van Dijk 1995), lacking clear orientation and cohesion.

Policy implementation

The following overview provides a breakdown of the instruments, in the form of funding programmes, through which internationalisation is stimulated.

Priority	Period	Budget
European student mobility (Erasmus)	1986-1995	through Commission
Internationalisation of higher education (STIR)		2.5 m NLG p/a UE
– infrastructure and network building (STIR I)	1988-1990	approx. 10mNLG
– student and staff mobility (STIR I)	1988-1990	per annum for HBO
– student and staff mobility (STIR II + III)	1991-1996	
– structural co-operation (STIR II + III)	1991-1996	
– curriculum development (STIR II + III)	1991-1996	
Neighbouring countries (GROS)	1992-1996	0.3 m NLG per annum
STIR Japan	1994-1998	0.3 m NLG per annum
Japan Prize Winners	1995-1999	2 m NLG per annum
Knowledge export (influx foreign students)	1991-1995	0.1 growing to 1 m NLG
Knowledge export	1996-1998	2 m growing to 4 m NLG
Neighbouring countries	1997	4.5 m NLG
Neighbouring countries	1998-1999	7? m NLG
Gifted students	1997- ?	1 m NLG
Cultural Agreements	pre-1985- ?	4.5 m NLG

Support for internationalisation is offered in the form of funds.
STIR was a general stimulation fund from which all institutions could profit proportionally to their student numbers.

The programme for Japan and for gifted students and the Cultural Agreements allocate grants to individual students on the basis of merit.

Subsidies for GROS projects were allocated through an open procedure to selected projects.

Grants for neighbouring countries projects are in 1997 allocated on the basis of negotiations between the Ministry and individual institutions. Participation of selected institutions is being stimulated.

For the knowledge export policy some funds have been allocated for general promotional activities. Other funds will be allocated to selected institutions.

Effects on the higher education system

English taught curricula

A clear change in the higher education system that can be attributed to internationalisation is the use of *English as a medium of instruction.*

Before 1985 English or any other foreign language was only used on rare occasions when a foreign professor in the initial phase of his stay in the Netherlands was allowed to teach in his own language. Tuition was supposed to be in Dutch and foreign professors were required to learn the language.

In the system of 'International Education' English was and still is used as the medium of instruction. These specialised courses fall outside the regular system of higher education and cater for international students, often from developing countries.

As a result of the influx of foreign exchange students, especially within the Erasmus programme higher education institutions had to make provisions for teaching these students. As long as the numbers were small an individual approach or teaching to a selected group of foreign students could be adopted. But as soon as larger groups of international students came for more diverse courses, these approaches were no longer cost-effective. Institutions started to plan more regular English taught courses and not merely isolated course units, but also more elaborate courses and curricula. In the nineties these courses started to find their way into the calendars and also became more often available to Dutch students.

When Minister Ritzen came into office in 1990 he proposed the introduction of English as the second language in higher education. His statement aroused a strong protest in Parliament and an article was introduced in the new Higher Education Act (WHW) which stipulated that Dutch was the medium of instruction. Only in exceptional cases was the use of another language allowed, i.a. 'in the case of internationalisation'. This clause allowed the institutions to go ahead with the introduction of English taught courses, which is done to an increasing extent. (See also Bremer and Van der Wende,1995 and Van der Wende 1996).

What will also have been helpful for the promotion of English taught courses is the emphasis in the second and third phase (1991-1996) of the STIR programme on (international) curriculum development. Although this

programme stimulated predominantly as before study abroad, the inclusion of the aim of curriculum development matched the institutions' desire for more international courses.

Transferability of grants

A second change that is discernible is the transferability of grants. Since the early eighties the Netherlands has had a grant/loan system which allows a basic grant for part of the subsistence costs to all students. On top of that, additional grants or loans can be received depending on the income of the parents. From the start of the internationalisation policy students were allowed to take their grant with them when they went for a study abroad period of less than one year and remained registered at their home institution. Although exchanges happened only on a relatively small scale prior to 1986, even then it was possible to take one's grant abroad in this situation. The change was a change of scale, not of principle.

What really was a change was the decision in the context of the neighbouring countries policy to allow Dutch degree students (as distinguished from exchange students) in Flanders and the German states bordering the Netherlands the same rights to a Dutch grant as students in Dutch institutions.

Tuition fees

Another direct result of the application of Community law on the rules for tuition fees was the exemption of EU residents from the payment of tuition fees. Or better: EU students can reclaim the tuition fee that they pay to a Dutch institution, just as any Dutch student will receive from the state, as part of his grant, the tuition fee that he pays to his university or *hogeschool*.

Credit points

A credit point system was already introduced in Dutch higher education before the start of the internationalisation era. The workload of a degree curriculum was regulated by law on the basis of 40 credit hours for a one week credit point. 1680 credit hours constitute an academic year. On the basis of this system a credit transfer system like ECTS can be introduced relatively easily.

Interaction between multilateral and national initiatives.

Policy formation

It is interesting to note that internationalisation of higher education appeared high on the policy agenda, both at the European level and at the Dutch national level at the same time.

The Comett and Erasmus programmes were launched almost at the same time as the Dutch STIR programme. Although there is no evidence in the available documents that STIR was inspired by Erasmus, it is stated that the national policy is coherent with and complementary to the European policy.

Perhaps the time was ripe for internationalisation, in which case we can attribute the launch of the different programmes to a serendipity effect. Possibly the less favourable OECD report together with the discussions of the Ministers of Education meeting within the framework of the European Council inspired the Dutch Minister to launch the STIR programme.

Language

The language issue may be another topic where the discussions at national and European level have influenced one another.

The official European view of promoting the less widely used languages, of which Dutch is one, concurs with the view of the Dutch Parliament, which anchored the use of the national language in the Higher Education Act.

This goes against the view expressed by the Minister of Education in 1990, that English should be used as a second language in higher education. This view is shared by the higher education institutions and is reflected in the common practice in Dutch higher education, where English is indeed being used as a second language in a growing number of internationally oriented and exchange programmes.

Transferability of grants

A third topic where interaction between the European and the Dutch national level can be discerned is that of the transferability of grants. This topic was raised by the Danish Presidency in 1993 and was welcomed with

great enthusiasm by the Dutch Ministry. The Dutch Minister introduced this notion in his 'neighbouring countries' policy, where he uses it as an experiment in perspective of a wider European application. The Dutch Minister has raised the topic of the transferability of grants again during his Presidency in the first half of 1997.

Quality assessment

Quality assessment in higher education is a topic that was introduced by the Netherlands at the European level. During the Dutch Presidency of 1991 a project was proposed to compare and analyse systems of quality assessment in different member states. The Dutch system of self evaluation and peer review by visiting committees was taken as one of the examples.

Co-financing of EU-funded activities is something that is *not* normally found in the Dutch situation. Only in an indirect way will Dutch funds match European ones. The STIR programme has certainly been meant as a complementary effort to the European action programmes. But STIR grants were given to students who were not eligible for Erasmus and not as a supplement on top of an Erasmus grant.

Now that STIR has come to an end (as of 1997) institutions of higher education are looking for funds, both internally and externally, to substitute for the lost grant opportunities. It may very well be that Erasmus funds will also become insufficient to give grants to all the eligible students. Institutions will then have to find alternative funds for these students as well, or otherwise exchange opportunities may get lost. It can not be expected that the Dutch national government will supplement Erasmus funding, since the priorities of the Ministry for the coming years clearly go in a different direction, although in *Onbegrensd talent* the Minister clearly supports the European programmes.

In 1997 *Onbegrensd talent* will be discussed with the higher education institutions and will subsequently be presented to Parliament. One can only speculate about the outcome, but the general direction of the national policy will most probably remain in line with the priorities that have been set in the last few years and which form the basis of *Onbegrensd talent:* the move from general stimulation of internationalisation towards the specific objectives of neighbouring countries policy, mobility of gifted students and export of knowledge.

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Sweden

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General background and fundamental ideas

The goal to internationalise higher education has been very prominent on the agenda in Sweden for the last two decades. The point of departure was a major action-oriented study by the Commission on Internationalisation which started in 1972 and delivered its final report in 1974.

There were several reasons for the actions taken at that time. Given the dependency of Sweden's mixed welfare economy on her success on the global market, the country had to remain competitive. Swedish companies were expanding abroad, and internationalising education was one of the ways to ensure that Swedes would be capable of filling important positions abroad. To this motive was added a new sense of global concern in the 1970s, a promotion of active solidarity with countries and cultures in the non-industrialised world.

The proposals of the Commission essentially stemmed from the following premises:

- An internationalised education should prepare students to view the priorities of other cultures from the perspective of those cultures.
- With a perspective broadened in this way, students engulfed in Western cultures should be able to analyse their own value structures and habits more critically, as well as pinpoint problem areas in international relations.
- To communicate successfully across cultures demands proficiency in languages and other skills which must become a greater part of Swedish university training.

An analytic summary of the internationalisation programme, based on her own previous research, was made in 1990 by Dr. Susan Opper of the University of California at Santa Barbara:

> *The vision has been impressive: the policy concern to promote preparedness through formal education for participation in an international community. At the same*

time, it has been intriguing to watch the adaptation to each other of planning and market mechanisms which have kept preoccupation with Western Europe a preoccupation in the internationalization of Swedish higher education.

Certainly, along the way there have been debates over the superordinate aim of internationalization as an educational goal. There have been strong advocates of placing a "global solidarity" goal premier, stressing the need to prepare Swedes to work to improve the standard of living and national economic chances of countries who are not as well off as Sweden. Yet, the motivation to internationalize in order to promote Sweden's own economic interests has, in my estimation, weighed more heavily. And in this context, there has been an astounding consistency in concern for events and developments in Western Europe; meeting the need for skills required by the complexity of modern labor markets, the need to make successful planning decisions, the need for culturally tempered management practices, fostering in the universities a research base for an advanced technology and maintaining the requisite supply of skill and "culture" of science.

What we have seen in Sweden is internationalization as a stepping stone to Europeanization, with a strong side interest in linkage to the US. Moreover, I have witnessed not so much a pan-Europeanism in Sweden's interest in internationalization as a concentration of effort on Germany and the United Kingdom.

Over the last five years the system of higher education in Sweden has been rather radically reformed. Decentralisation, quality control and accountability have been some of the catch-words in this process. The international dimension of current reforms has been emphasised on a number of occasions. In 1992 the Swedish government gave a clear expression of this when, in a bill to parliament, it stated:

A thorough overhaul of the higher education system is necessary not least from an international viewpoint. The universities have in fact always been international by nature. The developments of the last few years, bringing increased international exchange, co-operation and prospects of increased competition in the future for students and qualified manpower not least in Europe, underline the importance of education and the comparability of degrees.

The government also highlighted the international perspective in a bill which set out the strategies for research policy in Sweden (Challenges to Science – a Strategy Towards the 21st Century, 1992):

Sweden will become more and more a part of an international community, especially after entering the European Community. Requirements of internationalisation are underscored by the relative smallness of our country. Qualitative requirements, like our capacity for deriving benefit from international intercourse, are being highlighted.

One precondition of Sweden deriving full benefit from internationalisation is for the entire education system to prepare pupils and students for international relations and employment. Good knowledge of languages, and not only of English, is an essential ingredient of success.

An increasing proportion of tuition at universities and university colleges should take place in foreign languages. This will mean training for Swedish students, but it will also render Swedish universities and university colleges more attractive to students from other countries.

High-quality research calls for an international perspective and frame of comparison. For this reason, international contacts and joint projects have always been a vital part of academic research activities. Conditions vary a great deal, however, from one field, faculty, university and university college to another. The most important international research co-operation takes place in networks uniting individual researchers and universities. In a rapidly changing world, membership of such networks is becoming more and more important. - - -

Increased internationalisation also means a greater need for efficient systems of communication, and Sweden should therefore participate actively in the build-up of international data networks.

In the government budget bill, presented to parliament in January 1993, the aspect of international cooperation was also prominent:

The performance of the national educational systems will increasingly be compared to (and rated against) the performance of systems in other countries. We therefore also attach considerable importance to growing international cooperation on education, in which Sweden is participating...

This broadening of European cooperation also emphasizes the significance of the Nordic contribution. The importance of Nordic cooperation becomes even more important as Europe becomes increasingly integrated. However, it also requires

that we identify and define the special characteristics of this Nordic identity, this Nordic contribution. As declared in a joint statement issued by the prime ministers of the Nordic countries it is largely a question of culture, education and research.

The work of internationalisation also places demands on coordination and cooperation. The concrete and final responsibility for establishing the necessary international contacts must naturally devolve on the individual university and university college.

The expansion of the student exchange programme is extremely pleasing. The Government aims to provide these students with continued support as a practical expression of what internationalization means to individuals. The student exchange programme would gain more if more university teaching was provided in languages other than Swedish.

The new government, which took office in October 1994, has continued to stress the international dimension of higher education. It has, however, also reminded universities of their more global mission. In the budget bill in January 1995 it underlined this aspect:

Co-operation in Europe must not be developed at the cost of other forms of international commitment and co-operation. Higher education has a great responsibility with regard to the broadening of knowledge and understanding of societies and cultures in other regions. This is particularly true with respect to developing countries, where more than 80 per cent of the world population is to be found. Universities and colleges must actively promote knowledge about the developing countries. They must also forcefully combat every form of xenophobia and racism.

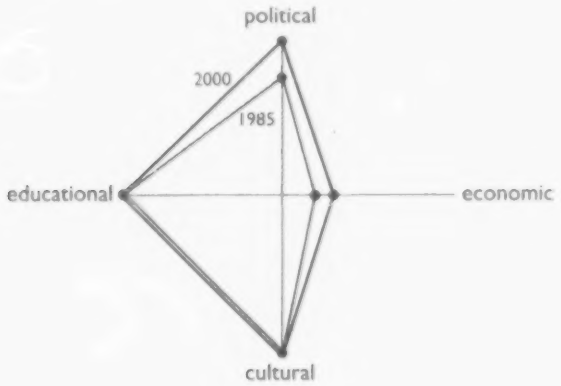
Rationales of the internationalisation policy

The educational and cultural rationales for internationalisation have always been strong in Sweden. Being a small country with a less spoken language implies a certain dependency on higher education and research in other countries. Historically Sweden has been oriented towards the German educational system but over the last five decades the influence from the English-speaking world has been predominant. Textbooks in foreign languages have always been an important feature of university education.

The economic and political rationales have grown in importance over the last decades. As mentioned above, the drive for internationalisation in the 70's and 80's was motivated partly by a reference to the competitiveness of Swedish industry abroad. This is still an important factor. In contrast to some other countries, though, the economic side of educational mobility has never been an issue in the debate. Earnings from export of education is hardly ever advanced as a motive for internationalisation.

Over the last few years the political aspects of internationalisation have been more emphasised than ever before. Particularly in the early 1990s, when Sweden actively started to seek membership of the European Union, the need for a European orientation was repeatedly stressed by politicians from various parties. This European bias has quite recently been balanced by a renewed focus on the role that Sweden can play in a wider international context. The traditional Swedish involvement – based on its policy of international non-alignment – in humanitarian and peace-keeping missions is also a factor of some importance in this context.

Rationales for the internationalisation policy of Sweden



Description of the national policy

From internationalisation grants to regular institutional policy

Among the many pilot projects of the Commission of Internationalisation was the development of distinct internationally-oriented degree programmes into which were integrated foreign language study and internships

abroad, especially in the United Kingdom, Germany and France. International relations, East European studies and peace and conflict research are other fields which were strongly promoted.

An important outcome of the Commission's work was the subsequent introduction of an "internationalisation grant", i.e. earmarked funds providing seed money to meet part of the cost of activities such as sending Swedish teachers and undergraduates abroad. The emphasis was on internationalisation as an important tool to enhance the quality of education in Sweden.

From 1985 onwards the Swedish authorities insisted that receipt of the grants would be contingent upon the existence of operational plans determined by the respective universities and colleges. The insistence that the universities and colleges themselves devise plans of action to set the priorities for internationalisation of campus curriculum and research networks was, as a matter of fact, a decisive factor in the success of the programme. Also important was the normative emphasis on the integration of international elements into the curriculum, rather than the adaptation of study abroad as an add-on to the curriculum in Sweden.

All those plans from the mid 1980's emphasised language competence. Many universities increased the amount of required reading in English. It was envisaged that a number of regular subjects in various educational programmes should be taught only in English while courses in German and French should be standing options.

With the continuing decentralisation of the higher education system in the late 1980s and early 1990's the sums previously set aside for the special grants were included in the general funding of universities. It was emphasised, however, that universities should themselves make sure that internationalisation activities received adequate funding. This seems to have been the case and in this period universities and colleges rapidly expanded their involvement in international student and teacher exchange through bilateral agreements with institutions in other countries.

In 1989 a major step was taken in order to increase student mobility. It was decided that Swedish students were entitled to use their state grants and loans for studies abroad, provided that the institution to which they want to go is approved by a competent Swedish authority.

(The Swedish system of study assistance consists of two portions: a grant plus a larger loan. The grant portion is about 30% of the total amount and, like the loan portion, is linked to general economic indicators.

The transferability of student grants has led to a dramatic increase in the number of students going abroad for a period of study. It is estimated that approximately 18,000 Swedish students participated in higher education studies in other countries for the whole or part of the 1994/95 academic year. Around 14,000 of them made their own arrangements using their state grants and loans. The remainder took part in student exchange programmes, the largest of which was the EU Erasmus programme. The United States, Great Britain and France were the most popular countries with Swedish students who studied abroad.

The increase in the number of students going abroad has not at all been matched by incoming students. In the case of foreign students who studied in Sweden, it is difficult to draw a clear distinction in the statistics between temporary guest students and citizens of other countries permanently domiciled in Sweden. The records of Swedish institutions of higher education indicate that about 3,800 guest students/foreign students studied in Sweden at some period in the 1994/95 academic year. This is an underestimate, since several institutions have been unable to report any figures. According to Statistics Sweden, 11,100 persons with foreign citizenship were registered in higher education programmes in Sweden in the autumn term of 1993.

It should be noted that foreign students do not pay tuition fees in Sweden. There has also been no effort on the part of the Swedish government or Swedish educational authorities to recruit students to Swedish universities in a more active way. What has been discussed are various measures to achieve a slightly better balance within the student exchange programmes between outgoing and incoming students. As mentioned earlier, the economic argument in favour of recruiting more international students has been virtually absent from the discussion. Instead, the advantages of internationalising the campuses through the presence of students from abroad has been emphasised.

Political priorities

One of the political priorities of Swedish governments – regardless of political colour – since the late 1980s has been the promotion of West European integration, eventually leading to Sweden's accession to the European Community from 1995. The participation of Sweden, together with other EFTA countries in the EC education programmes Erasmus and Comett should be seen against this background.

The entry into the Erasmus programme in particular was to be of decisive importance for the internationalisation of many Swedish campuses. For some of the smaller university colleges the programme entailed new experiences in international cooperation. A vast network of contacts with colleagues in other countries was established. In many cases new international offices were set up. Teaching in English and other languages was introduced for the first time in many institutions. In short, the Erasmus programme proved to be an excellent catalytic factor for creating a new and professional approach to international cooperation in Swedish higher education.

Another political priority since the early signs of the dissolution of the Soviet Union in the late 1980s has been cooperation in the Baltic region and in particular with Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. This cooperation has subsequently been extended to also include central regions of the North-West of Russia, in particular the St. Petersburg area. A government initiative in 1996 created new and rather large funds for the support of restructuring activities in this region.

Apart from these rather constant priorities it has been possible to note a certain shift of emphasis between the last two governments. The liberal/conservative government between 1991 and 1994 stressed the need for scholars and researchers from Sweden to cooperate with academic centres of excellence in countries like the USA, the United Kingdom, France and Germany. The incumbent social-democratic government has adopted a slightly different policy, stressing even more the previous commitment to regional cooperation around the Baltic and the need to refocus on cooperation with developing countries.

Both governments seem to share the view that special attention should also be paid to opportunities for cooperation in research and higher education

with rapidly developing countries in Pacific Asia and Latin America. A foundation for international cooperation with these countries (STINT) was established in 1994 (see below).

Policy development and implementation

The main outlines of national policies on internationalisation are of course drawn by the government. Sweden has, however, a special administrative structure on the national level which leaves a lot of secondary policy making to a number of national agencies, all of them funded by the government but acting rather independently within broad frameworks established by government and parliament.

A description of policy development and implementation in Sweden may therefore best be accomplished by outlining the briefs and activities of the five major bodies operating on the national level:

The National Agency for Higher Education (HsV)

The Swedish National Agency for Higher Education (Högskoleverket) is a central government authority dealing with issues concerning all institutions of higher education. The Agency is responsible for providing a basis for decisions taken by the Government and by Parliament, and contributes to the implementation of goals and guidelines for higher education.

The Agency has assumed the duties which were, until 1 July 1995, the responsibility of the former Agency for Higher Education (Verket för högskoleservice), the Office of the University Chancellor and Council for Renewal of Undergraduate Education, but has also been endowed with new tasks.

The main functions of the National Agency for Higher Education are:

- Collection, processing and compilation of information
- Evaluation
- Quality audit and quality enhancement
- Supervision of how the legal framework is applied at universities and university colleges
- Analysis of developments in areas affecting higher education
- Accreditation of degrees
- Decisions regarding the establishment of professorships at certain university colleges

- Evaluation of international credentials for higher education and recognition of diplomas awarded in other countries
- Information about higher education nationally and internationally
- General information to society at large about universities and university colleges
- University management training
- Development and coordination of international educational cooperation
- National management of EU exchange programmes related to higher education
- Support for renewal of undergraduate education

In all this the international aspect is integrated. The degree of internationalisation is thus one of the parameters used in the quality audits performed by the Agency. In funding projects for the renewal of undergraduate education the international dimensions are also decisive.

HsV supports the internationalisation of universities and university colleges. It is the national agency for Socrates/Erasmus and Tempus and the information office for other EU programmes in the higher education sector. It is also in charge of recognition of international higher education diplomas for professional purposes and is Contact Point for information on the general EC directives for recognition of professionally oriented education. Through its Naric/Enic function, the Agency is responsible for general matters concerning recognition of higher education.

HsV furthermore gives information to students on studies abroad. Courses, seminars and conferences on international issues is another area of activity. The Agency also supports international teacher exchanges and participation in major conferences on teaching in higher education. Some 25 full-time staff are working with various aspects of internationalisation of higher education.

Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA)

Government authorities in charge of Swedish international development cooperation have a long tradition of funding a whole series of different activities at Swedish universities and colleges, thus enhancing the internationalisation of institutions for higher education. In 1995 three of the agencies in this field merged into one organisation, the Swedish International Development Agency (Sida).

For a long time Sida (and its predecessors) has turned to universities for assistance in direct support programmes in developing country institutions. This has brought a Third World perspective to teaching and research and has often been the starting point for long-standing links with institutions in developing countries. Some of these are universities where a type of twinning programme develops. In most cases, however, the collaboration concerns other types of institutions which has brought and still brings a broad perspective on development efforts into Swedish universities.

An earlier special scholarship programme was abandoned and over the past two decades the agency has concentrated its support to the emerging institutions of higher education in the developing countries.

Over a number of years Sida sponsored study visits for groups of university lecturers (mainly from teacher training colleges) to developing countries. These study tours have been instrumental in inspiring university personnel to set up courses on global issues, ecology and international interdependence. To help teachers in secondary and tertiary education interested in bringing a global perspective into everyday teaching the agency has paid eight part-time educators, who support internationalisation efforts all over Sweden.

In order to stimulate university students to learn more about developing countries Sida has offered special grants allowing some 320 Swedish students a year to go for "minor field studies" to a Third World country. Since students must have a supervisor both at home and at the foreign university this programme has created contacts between universities and colleges in the North and South.

SAREC was prior to 1995 an independent authority which has now merged with Sida to form its research support bransch. It has engaged Swedish university departments in some 150 collaborative agreements in support of research development in developing countries. Research training of students from those countries has been common within these programmes, usually based on a sandwich model involving frequent exchange visits. Not only academic staff but also students have benefited from such contacts.

At Swedish universities SAREC has over the years supported around twenty institutions of particular excellence in development research/studies and funds a handful of chairs in areas such as environment/ecology, development economics and political science. These efforts have been of the utmost

importance in terms of internationalisation of both research and undergraduate education.

BITS, the Swedish Board for Investment and Technical Support, also merged into Sida in 1995. When the Swedish government decided to support the reform process towards democracy and market economy in East and Central Europe, it allocated a major part of its funding to BITS. A special example of BITS-sponsored activities in this area is the Baltic University Programme, a cooperative effort among more than 120 universities in 14 countries in the Baltic region. The programme offers university credit courses using satellite television.

The Swedish Institute

The Swedish Institute (SI) promotes the internationalisation of Swedish higher education and research by awarding a large number of individual scholarships for long-term or brief study visits to and research stays in Sweden and elsewhere. All countries and all disciplines are, in principle, included in SI's scholarship programmes.

The primary target group for the long-term scholarships consists of students at advanced or research-student level. SI's short-term grants are mainly to enable Swedish researchers and specialists to undertake research stays in or study visits to other countries. Grants may also be disbursed for active conference participation abroad.

Swedish university departments can obtain funds from SI for projects co-operation with university departments in Central and Eastern Europe and in Germany. The newly established funds for cooperation in the Baltic region are also managed by the Institute.

Another function of SI is active dissemination outside Sweden of knowledge about Swedish higher education and research. This is achieved by means of information material in printed form and via the Internet, and by actively participating in international education fairs and networks in the educational sector.

SI is the authority in Sweden with responsibility for promoting the teaching of Swedish as a foreign language at universities and colleges abroad. Here, SI contributes teaching materials, literature and guest lecturers, and also

arranges conferences and courses for teachers and students inside and outside Sweden. SI is also responsible for selecting and supporting teachers of the Swedish language at universities abroad.

STINT – The Swedish Foundation for International Cooperation in Research and Higher Education

STINT was established in 1994 with a capital base of SEK 1 057 million (approx. ECU 120 m.) The brief of STINT is to provide financial support mainly within five programmes:

- Stipends for Swedish post-doctoral researchers
- STINT visiting scientists/scholars
- STINT fellowships
- Scholarship for postgraduate students from dynamic economies
- Supplementary funding of Swedish research and development in connection with the Framework programme of the European Union.

Undergraduate education is not included in the activities above but the mobility of teachers and researchers funded by STINT will most certainly influence the content of teaching and learning in many subjects.

Countries with which Swedish academics cooperate under the programmes enumerated above include Argentina, Brazil, China, India, Indonesia, Malaysia, South Korea, South Africa and Thailand

The Swedish EU Programme Office for Education, Training and Competence Development

The Swedish EU Programme Office – an agency established on July 1 1995 – should make it easier to receive EU support for starting projects concerning education and competence development.

The tasks of the Programme Office include the provision of information, development, counselling, processing applications, evaluation and distribution of results. The office

- provides an entry point to a number of EU programmes and an effective link between Swedish policy and EU Programmes.
- co-operates with a number of different actors within the area of education and competence development.
- supports different regional and local co-ordinators of EU programmes.

This includes support for training and education, information and networks.
- helps prospective applicants find their way through different EU programmes and initiatives.

The Programme Office deals with the following EU programmes and initiatives:
- Socrates
- Leonardo da Vinci
- Adapt
- Employment

Effects on the higher education system

If developments in Sweden during the period 1985-1997 are seen in a broader perspective one might argue that a number of structural changes in the higher education system have been inspired by the process of internationalisation. The policy of decentralisation combined with quality control is most certainly modelled upon structures in other countries such as the United States, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands. The reintroduction of a number of degrees (in particular the Master's degree) were in many ways caused by demand for international academic comparability.

Experience from teacher and student exchange have most certainly inspired changes in a number of curricula in Sweden. The fact that staff vacancies are increasingly being advertised in international media proves that the recruitment of teachers is no longer confined to the relatively small Swedish academic community. Teaching of some courses in English (and a few other languages) will be found in almost every institution these days.

The introduction of the European Union educational programmes in the early 1990s gave a strong impetus to setting up international offices in those institutions where such administrative units were previously unknown. This was a sign of the times that international exchange had become a permanent and necessary part of everyday academic life. This, in turn, has led to the emphasis on international opportunities in the public profile of many institutions. In recruitment booklets from universities and colleges one would normally find a number of pages prominently featuring the exchange programmes and the international character of the campus. Internationalisation has thus become a major asset.

Other effects of the process of internationalisation have been described in more detail above in the context of the account of national policy implementation.

Interaction between national policies and international initiatives

In the 1980s the idea of a Swedish membership of the European Community was not yet ripe. The same was true of the other Nordic countries, except Denmark which was already a member. The introduction of the Erasmus programme at the time therefore caused some anxiety among politicians in the Nordic countries. Against this background it was decided to launch a specific Nordic scheme, Nordplus, as a programme modelled on the various Erasmus activities. Even after the membership of Sweden and Finland this has proved to be a valuable add-on to existing exchange opportunities.

(On the whole, cooperation between Nordic countries has always been regarded as something self-evident for most Swedes. Thus, all the cooperation mechanisms and initiatives between the Nordic countries are not included in this brief overview of internationalisation policies).

The decision to make student funding transferable may also have been affected by a fear of academic isolation in the late 1980's. With student mobility rapidly increasing in Western Europe, extended funding could be seen as one way of overcoming the handicaps for Swedish students who at the time could not study at other European universities if they did not manage to obtain financial support from private sources or through scarce scholarship programmes.

A decisive factor for the future of higher education in Europe, and indeed globally, is the recognition of foreign diplomas or periods of study abroad. Even if Sweden has been a signatory to major international treaties in this area, actual recognition is sometimes difficult, in particular when in comes to transferring academic credits from other countries to a degree programme. The establishment of the Naric network as well as the application of the various recognition directives in Sweden have surely led to a deeper understanding of existing problems. It is to be expected that the national Swedish policy on internationalisation over the next few years will put academic and professional recognition on top of the agenda.

189

United Kingdom

David Elliott
British Council

General outline

In this study "internationalisation" is to be understood as a systematic, sustained effort by government to make higher education institutions more responsive to the challenges of the "globalisation" of the economy and society. Viewed that way the dearth of utterances on the internationalisation of higher education as such by the Conservative Party governments which have been in power since 1979 is less significant than the inferences that can be drawn from the fundamental thrust of their general policies, including educational policy, as a whole. This can be summarised as the mobilisation of the skilled human resources needed to make the UK a more internationally competitive trading nation, both within the EU but more especially the expanding markets of Asia and Latin America. This is linked to a belief in the efficacy of market forces and individualism, a suspicion of social engineering and a principled objection to trade restriction. To the extent that higher education has a distinct international purpose within that wider aim it is to maximise export earnings by selling education services to paying customers. It is unlikely that this position will alter significantly under a government of a different political party.

The rationale of the UK's internationalisation policy for higher education

British universities, legally, are autonomous institutions with varying commitments to international activity in their mission statements. To the extent that their academic communities are able to determine the international agenda it will be related to their scholarly interests. Few institutions, though, have sufficient non-government resources to operate autonomously. The public funding system, directly or indirectly, conditions whether and how a university operates internationally which, in turn, ensures that 'managerial' as well as purely educational factors shape an institution's engagements .The single most important source of public funds reaches

HEIs via the Higher Education Funding Councils, itself derived from government departments, such as the Department of Education and Employment (for England) which, outside of EU obligations, have no remit for international activity.

To the extent that any single national body can be said to represent a consensual view of the purposes of higher education it is the appropriate Funding Council for the constituent parts of the UK. The English Funding Council, for example, has recently re-stated them as falling under the following headings:

- civilisation
- developing, storing and transmitting knowledge
- meeting the needs of the economy and industry
- meeting the aspirations and needs of students
- serving local and regional communities
- HE as a tradable activity

It goes on to say, "HEIs are now more explicitly concerned with preparing young people for working life, and responding to the needs of industry and commerce. A challenge for the future will be to maintain a balance between this and the less utilitarian purposes of higher education. Important though the economic role is, it is essential that its focus should remain long-term. HE should not simply be regarded as an employment filter, nor is its purpose simply to prepare students for their first job" (1)

From our point of view this statement is significant both in what it says – and what it does not say. In the first place, the need to insist on HE's non-utilitarian purposes reflects the powerful pressures of the 'market ethic' which British governments since 1979 have vigorously championed (and which the Council itself recognises when it adds, "market forces, student choice and the self-interest of individual institutions should continue to be the primary instruments of change"). Secondly, though, the absence of any explicit reference to internationalism, other than "HE as a tradable activity", reveals more than the limits of the Funding Council's competence (its statutory remit restricts it to the territory of England); it illustrates, at the very least, a reluctance to use the rhetoric of internationalism as it is used by some countries. By comparison there is an absence of diffidence in talking about the need to "maintain a number of world-class institutions which compare internationally with the best universities in the world"; not least

since the Funding Council goes on to point out that in 1994/5 some £200 million was on by them in research contracts from overseas.

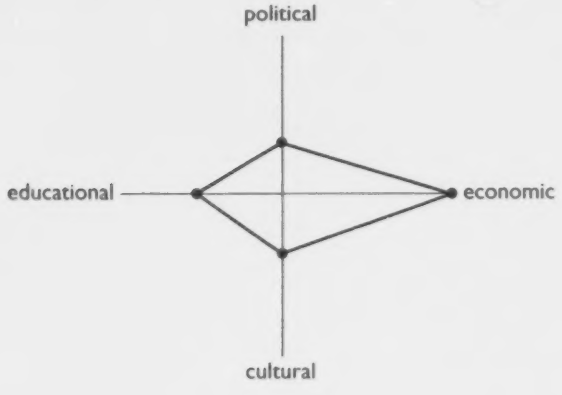
From this it can be seen that UK HEIs need to find resources for undertaking any non-grant funded work, including all overseas activity, from other sources. Many are keen to do so since universities have always tended to be internationally minded, at least at the level of the researcher. In addition since 1945 there has been a strain of genuine altruism in relation to developing countries. Commonwealth links have provided a focus for assistance to nascent universities, organised first by the IUC, a cooperative company owned by British universities, and subsequently The British Council. The European ideal itself, as John Davies reminds us, "provided a strong philosophical stimulus to internationalisation, though the idealism was soon tempered by the realisation that Brussels funds were available, and several universities' international bureaus were predicated on the desire to tap European Community funds".(2)

Of British government funds for international activities some is made available, indirectly, by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (and The British Council) and the Overseas Development Administration. The former in the shape of scholarships and other awards to further national interests by encouraging talented students to study in the UK or assist in the transformation of ex-communist countries; the latter through project funding to contribute to the development of Third World countries.

This, though, is probably less significant for many HEIs than non-British government sources of funding including the EU, other international organisations and foreign governments and their citizenry. Here the legal autonomy of British universities is crucial since overseas earnings accrue to them exclusively and are of no concern to the Higher Education Funding Councils. The government encourages HEIs' international enterprises; their overseas earnings make a significant positive contribution to the international balance of payments, while their satisfied foreign clients are likely to be more favourably disposed towards UK interests. For their part HEIs use foreign funds to sustain research and teaching which might be otherwise unaffordable (even if the investment costs in becoming and remaining internationally competitive are sometimes under-estimated).

To sum up so far, the relative priorities which the British Government, the Higher Education Funding Councils and, increasingly, the HEIs themselves attach to HE international activity could be represented as follows:

Rationales for the internationalisation policy of United Kingdom



Note: the relatively low priority given for the promotion of national culture and language overseas by higher education institutions is partly because other agencies than HEIs, principally the British council, exist for this purpose. Besides it is acknowledged that the attractiveness of British HEIs to international partners and clients is enhanced by their technical expertise being embedded 'for free', as it were, in a pluralistic culture speaking the world's lingua franca.

Policy development

Until the 1960s higher education in the UK was almost exclusively the concern of a small number of universities. Compared with those in many other countries they were characterised by social and academic elitism and by a high level of independence from government. The creation of polytechnics (subsequently elevated to university status) and the rapid expansion of the HE sector as a whole from the late 1980s has taken place against a background of reduced public funding per student and a substitution of external accountability for the trust arrangement formerly reposed in the academic collegium. This has lead to the emergence of a 'managerialist' style of leadership in HEIs which are, in effect, required to operate as medium to large size businesses. British students, traditionally pre-disposed to study away from their home towns, have become 'customers' to be competed for; industry has been embraced as a source of contract research; and international opportunities have been vigorously explored by an increasingly professional education 'salesmen'.

The increased prevalence of market considerations reflects government conviction that efficiency and effectiveness in any area of activity are directly proportional to the range of customer choice. Organisations will be successful if they are enterprising i.e. willing to take risks and reward initiative. Therefore in higher education as in other areas the role of government "is limited to creating the conditions in which free competition can thrive. Events and outcomes will be shaped by the market, not by the government"(3)

This aversion to social engineering goes back to before 'Thatcherism'. The provision of state schooling in the last century, for example, was a relatively belated and limited incursion into what had been regarded as the proper concern of individuals or their benefactors (and until the 1980s religious instruction was the only subject legally required to feature in the school curriculum). Again many HEIs, before the 1960s, owed their existence to the results of voluntary local initiatives by the business community.

In these circumstances it is not surprising that the 1988 Education Act, for example, was predicated on the assumption that a major role for higher education was that it should "serve the economy more efficiently and have closer links with industry and commerce and promote enterprise". Nor that the 1995 Department of Education review, now subsumed into the National Inquiry into Higher Education (the Dearing Review) focused on three elements including the role it should "play in underpinning a modern, competitive economy". Indeed the merger, in 1995, of the departments (ministries) of employment and education and the transfer of the Office of Science and Technology (including the Research Councils) to the Department of Trade and Industry merely made organisationally explicit what was implicit in the government's ideology.

Perhaps even more revealing of government assumptions about the role of education, including higher education, are the three White Papers on 'Competitiveness' which have appeared since 1994 and their 1993 precursor, 'Realising our potential: a strategy for science, engineering and technology'. The last considered, inter alia, how the training of higher level science and technology manpower by the universities could better equip them to fit into the labour market. The context for the 'Competitiveness' Papers is the end of the Cold War and the spread of market economies to most parts of the world. This is seen as an historic opportunity for a trading nation like Britain. Trade accounts for 25% of British GDP, compared, for example, to 10% for

the USA; and while the UK represents just 1.1% of global population it is responsible for 5% of world trade. Competitiveness is regarded as being, primarily, dependent upon the skills of the labour force which, accordingly need to be regularly measured against those of our trading rivals and where appropriate improved through setting and meeting national targets. The aim, quite simply, is "to create the best qualified workforce in Europe"(4)

There is no comparable government statement on the international role of HEIs as such. While some other governments have produced policy documents expressing their view that higher education is an opportunity to 'internationalise' the student population (embracing notions like universal human rights, education for international understanding and peace) the British Government has never seen its need. In so far as EU programmes like SOCRATES aim to promote a European Dimension designed "to enhance understanding of the cultural, political, economic and social characteristics of other member states"(2) the UK has fallen in (in its response to the Memorandum on Higher Education in 1992 the Department of Education intoned that 'the UK Government's aim is to embed the European dimension in the daily practice of all higher education institutions' without being very specific about means). It is true that greater attention is now being paid to school level foreign language teaching while, for example, British students comprise 18-19% of all ERASMUS students despite accounting for only 14% of the EU student body (though the UK still imports 3 students from other EU countries for every 2 it exports). And British HEIs and research institutions probably receive more than their strict juste retour from the EU Framework Programmes. Nevertheless there is a suspicion of European 'federalism' and of its associated costs (not least the costs incurred as a result not only from the imbalance of ERASMUS numbers but also by 'free movers'; EU students in British HEIs totalled no fewer than 81,000 in 1995/6). Proposals in the 1996 EC Green Paper, "Education, Training, Research: The Obstacles To Transnational Mobility", which entail additional expenditure, accordingly, are unlikely to find favour with the British government.

It is worth recalling that when, in 1980, British policy on overseas students in higher education changed, by abandoning an essentially 'laissez-faire' regime of indiscriminate subsidy (since fee levels were set at levels well below cost), it was intended that EU students as much as those from other parts of the world would be required to meet all the costs of their tuition (a position

which was shifted only following legal appeal). Some Commonwealth governments have pointed out ruefully that the savings to the British exchequer made by charging their students have been outstripped by far by the financial burden of being the most attractive destination for non-fee paying EU students.

The 1980 policy change, which actually was prompted by the decision of the government to find savings across the board (and so little did the Department of Education consider the international significance of this particular 'saving' that the Foreign Office, apparently, was as surprised as overseas authorities by their volte face over fees), caused considerable dismay in the academic community at the time. This was both because it affected most adversely students from the poorest countries(in response to which the British government subsequently introduced a package of ameliorating measures) and because HEIs' public funding was cut by the estimated value of the foregone subsidy. This left HEIs with no alternative to avoid making cuts in their programmes other than to replace the lost income – in part by persuading students that a UK degree was worth the (considerable) cost that would now be charged for it. Not until 1984 did the numbers of international students recover to their pre-1980 level, largely by focusing promotional efforts on Pacific Rim countries. By 1995/6 apart from EU students, most of whose fees, like British students', remain notional and whose numbers are subject to regulation by the Funding Councils, the biggest source of international students is Asia. By comparison with the 56,000 Asians, Africa accounted for only 13,000-about the same as North America.

Unlike EU students, many of whom study in the UK to improve their English or enjoy a different cultural experience, fee paying students above all want internationally recognised qualifications. They will have opted for the UK only after making value for money judgements about comparable 'products' in Australia or the USA. Persuading them that the UK represents a 'better deal' and sending them home as unofficial ambassadors of their alma maters usually has to take priority over considering how their presence can 'internationalise' the experience of British students. By the same token the large number of EU students at British HEIs, in some institutions probably large enough to constitute a 'critical mass' for 'internationalisation' to occur, probably has a more limited impact because their presence can more readily be taken for granted – and they exert little financial pressure on the university authorities. However, this means that, on average, no less than

11% of the student body at a British HEI is foreign, a much higher proportion than in the USA, Autralia or Germany (if the same definitions of 'international' are used), it would not be true to deduce that British higher education has been 'internationalised' if that is taken to mean that the curriculum, teaching staff, language of instruction, orientation of research or quality assurance arrangements have been changed specifically to expose the British student population which stays at home to an 'international dimension'.

However, this begs the question of how to define the criteria by which someone's 'mind-set' can be said to be 'internationalised'. But, if the issue is less the international 'dimension' and rather more "the contribution of internationalisation to the improvement of the quality of higher education in the broader sense" (5) it is probably true that HEIs' 'customer focus', which has been encouraged by the pursuit of fee-paying students, has materially benefited UK students; it is also arguable that paying students are more assertive and likely to be a more noticeable presence on British campuses.

Ulrich Teichler, reflecting on the relatively less positive attitudes of British students, compared with other nationalities, to their ERASMUS experiences, has dubbed the UK an example of 'internationalisation through import'. He has written that "internationalisation requires primarily efforts for the foreign students and scholars... (the British) expect that knowledge of the world will be carried to them and will be accessible in their language"(6). While there is little doubt that some features of cosmopolitanism, such as versatility with foreign languages, remain relatively under-developed it is less clear that this has resulted in British students being less wedded to internationalist desiderata like multiracialism and multiculturalism.

Certainly in at least one respect, because of financial imperatives (rather than internationalism per se), the UK has pioneered new forms of quality assured 'virtual' international education – off-shore course delivery. Just as in the EU the emphasis in achieving a European dimension has moved from student mobility to curricular modification, even the 10% target set in the original ERASMUS programme has proved over-ambitious not least because of cost, so too in the wider world there is a growing trend to engage in overseas study vicariously. Usually the aim is to acquire foreign qualifications through various kinds of distance learning arrangements or, increasingly, by enrolling

on in-country programmes which have been franchised, validated or established on branch campuses by overseas institutions whose reputation confers status and academic respectability. While there is no doubt that the principal incentive for a British HEI to enter into such collaborative arrangements is financial because what is being 'sold', ultimately, is its reputation the UK has produced a Code of Practice to guide HEIs through the complex ways through which this can be safeguarded over what can be considerable geographical distances and even greater cultural ones. Moreover such arrangements are now subject to external audit overseas as well as at home. The guiding principle is that the course delivered overseas should in all essential respects be the equivalent of its home delivered counterpart – taking into account appropriate and legitimate local adaptations, including the language of instruction. In some ways, in other words, providing that curricular 'customisation' which introducing the European dimension is likely to entail.

Policy implementation

From the foregoing analysis it should be obvious that there are no major schemes or agencies for the implementation of internationalisation as such. Certainly not if one takes Skilbeck and Connell's view that a concept of internationalisation is 'impoverished' which denotes only the self-interested operations of nation states through such devices as bilateral agreements and student recruitment; by implication activities scarcely deserving mention in the same context as non-nationalistic concerns like the preservation of the cultural and physical environments (7).

However if one allows that self- and other-interest may occasionally coincide then the principal means through which the British government contributes to higher education's international agenda are through schemes of targeted scholarships, such as the Chevening Scholarships and the Technical Cooperation Training Awards (though as with all development assistance programmes they are judged by their impact on social, economic and political development, not 'internationalisation' ; indeed the most recent education policy paper from the British ODA, taking its cue from the World Bank, reiterates the prior claims of 'basic' over higher education because of the former's better rates of social return). In addition to other OECD countries, there are technology transfer programmes to developing or transformational economies in the Third World or the former communist

bloc such as the 'Fund for International Cooperation In Higher Education' (FICHE) and the 'Know-How Fund'. In all, the British government contributes about £120 million pa to the support of international students through scholarships – while, incidentally, the 'subsidy' of EU students is calculated at a further £200 million (or the cost of 4 average size universities). And in case an impression has been created that British universities are little more than academic businesses it is worth noting that a recent evaluation of the FICHE showed that in the period 1993-6 the government cash grant of £3 million levered £54 million in foregone charges from UK HEIs (staff freely giving their time and expertise to colleagues in developing country universities).

Finally, The British Council, a non-government agency, receives around £130 million pa to further UK interests overseas by promoting mutually beneficial arrangements between British and foreign collaborators, often academic. Amongst other activities, usually on a shared-cost basis, this pump-primes 1300 research links every year in western Europe alone. The Acciones Integradas with Spain, for example, which was started in 1983, is financed by each side contributing around £1/4 million pa. A recent survey showed that the research groups supported through the programme have gone on to win at least £54 million, £47 million from EC programmes, in follow-up funding. The research initiated has resulted in over 1,000 publications in refereed journals, 35 books, 61 conferences and 6 patents. It has also made an important contribution to Anglo-Spanish relations given that over the years the programme has involved 80% of all British and Spanish universities.

However, the activity for which many know the British Council best, apart from the teaching of English, is its collaboration with education institutions through the Education Counselling Service to promote study in the UK. Some 260 institutions pay the Council to organise exhibitions, visit programmes, advertising material and so on in the increasingly keen competition to recruit fee-paying students.

The impact of internationalisation on the UK higher education system

The most obvious way in which some European countries have signalled their conversion to internationalisation, or to facilitate the recruitment of fee-paying students, is by introducing or switching to English medium

taught courses in order to accommodate or attract foreign faculty and students unable or unwilling to learn another language than their own or English. This has been most pronounced in the Netherlands but is also happening in countries speaking a major world language, like Germany. Clearly this is not necessary in the case of the UK.

It is even arguable that the mastery by British students and scholars of foreign languages would significantly change matters; which language(s) should be learned and how far would they sustain international co-operation (rather than international sales) before recourse was needed to the lingua franca, English?

Of course many students do learn foreign languages and thousands work as assistants or lektors; however there is not the imperative to speak another language that is felt by non-English speakers and without the spur of necessity fluency in a foreign tongue, for the majority, will always be more in the nature of an accomplishment

Compared to many others, British students are generously supported by the tax-payer. Not only are tuition fees for most first degree programmes paid by local government agencies but most students qualify for grant support towards their living costs. Where courses have a compulsory period overseas these entitlements are portable. There is, though, no policy that x% of the student population should study abroad in the way that some governments, for example the Norwegian, have deliberately engineered through their loans and grant systems.

This is partly the result of British degree courses being, comparatively, short and intensive (and until recently mostly non-modular) making periods of intercalated study more problematic. And, except for language students, outside of North America and one or two other Commonwealth countries there has been the linguistic barrier.

Probably internationalisation's most pronounced impact on UK higher education institutions is through its engendering 'professional' education exporters. Virtually all universities have teams dedicated to international promotion, recruitment, contract negotiation, advertising, fund raising and alumni relations as well as welfare support. While much of this would have developed as a concomitant of HE's 'massification' and the related requirement

for HEIs to diversify their income streams, the conversion of non-EU students into income yielding customers and the proliferation of 'off-shore' opportunities has been a powerful additional stimulus.

One area where most British HEIs have not needed to make much adjustment in order to accommodate international students is welfare and accommodation. Because of the tradition that British students study away from their home towns, and because they used to be quite young at the commencement of their studies, UK HEIs have invested in providing comprehensive student services – housing, social and medical. Equally, in a multi-racial society, it has been relatively easy to cater for religious or dietary needs of foreign students.

Conclusion

Recent British public debate about the EU has scarcely fostered a propitious climate for promoting 'Europeanisation' while 'internationalisation' tends to be equated with the commercial challenge of and response to the economics of globalisation. The EC's Study Group on Education and Training's report, "Accomplishing Europe through education and training" (December 1996), which, inter alia, calls on member states to consolidate European citizenship by 'modernising' the history curriculum, sits uneasily alongside the concerns of the Chief Inspector of Schools that British children are inadequately versed in their national history.

While there is no corpus of government policy on internationalisation of higher education as such the utterances of ministers make clear their recognition of the commercial and diplomatic value of the 'education export industry'. A study commissioned by the UK Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals in 1995 estimated that international students' tuition fees and associated expenditure in Britain generated in excess of £1 billion pa in invisible exports and helped sustain between 35-53,000 jobs. Indeed the Department of Trade and Industry calculates that the sum total of ALL kinds of education related exports comes to no less than £7 billion, which makes it one of the country's most important economic activities. The longer term benefits of educating what may include the future leaders of overseas countries is also appreciated. There are, for example, no fewer than 300,000 British alumni in Malaysia alone.

It comes as no surprise therefore that the Dearing Committee will be investigating the ways that 'UK higher education can capitalise on the fact that higher education is an international activity ... (especially) the scope for UK higher education to become a major international business by harnessing information and communications technology'.

In conclusion the fact that the British government has not pronounced on the internationalisation, as opposed to export, of higher education certainly reflects political priorities accurately. It also, though, reflects the fact that, arguably, there is less need for explicit policy when, de facto, HEIs pursue international agendas by virtue of their autonomy, their language of instruction and their academic as well as financial imperatives. But by the same token it makes it the more important that individual higher education institutions have a clear view of why and how they intend to fulfil their international missions.

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Central and Eastern Europe and Russia

Liduine Bremer, Nuffic

Introduction

Background

This document contains the findings of a study on national policies for the internationalisation of higher education in Central and Eastern Europe and Russia. The study was carried out as a complement to the initiative of the Working Group for Western Europe of the Academic Cooperation Association (ACA). The ACA Working Group decided at its meeting of 12 February 1996 to launch a study on national policies for the internationalisation of higher education. The focus of this study is the Western European countries represented in the Working Group.

This complementary study on Central and Eastern Europe covers the Phare countries (Albania, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovak Republic and Slovenia) and Russia.

The ACA study on Western Europe and the complementary study for Central and Eastern Europe are sponsored by the Swedish National Agency for Higher Education (HsV), which intends to present the findings at a conference on national policies for internationalisation in higher education in autumn 1997, coinciding with the 25th anniversary of the launching of the first national Swedish Commission on internationalisation policies. HsV has requested Nuffic to carry out these studies.

Objectives

The general aim of the project is to give an overview of national policies for internationalisation in higher education in Europe over the last ten years until the year 2000, to analyse these policies and to show their impact on national systems. The project includes all levels of higher education (undergraduate to postgraduate).

203

This general aim can be further differentiated into six more specific objectives:

1. to describe the fundamental political ideas and commitments underpinning national policies;
2. to identify the priorities and explain the motives for setting these priorities;
3. to study the procedure applied for the establishment of national policies, give the actors involved and show how they interact;
4. to study the implementation of national policies;
5. to give examples of major changes in national higher education systems as a result of internationalisation;
6. to assess how national policy affects or is affected by international/ multilateral initiatives (giving examples).

Method

In view of the time and budget framework for the study relating to the Central and Eastern European countries, the method used for data collection for this part of the study is desk research. The available documentation has been studied and analysed within the framework and according to the guidelines provided in the conceptual framework of this study drawn up by ACA.

There are two main types of documentation material: material on the Tempus programme, and material on higher education reform in general. Documents specifically addressing internationalisation in higher education could not be identified. A full list of materials studied is provided in the section on References.

Extensive use has been made in the country reports of the Tempus materials, especially the Compendia, the Annual Reports and the Monographs.

This report will first discuss the specific elements of the Central and East European context in section 2 and then report on the findings and outcomes of the study in 3.

Specific elements of the Central and East European context

There are three main characteristics of the overall situation with regard to international cooperation in higher education in Central and Eastern Europe which make for a fundamental difference between this part of Europe and the Western European countries. These characteristics will be discussed to some extent below in order to provide a good perspective on the information presented in the separate country reports contained in part II of this report. The first characteristic relates to the interpretation of the term "internationalisation" . The second relates to the coordination mechanisms in the higher education system. The third characteristic has to do with the context of policy development and implementation in general. In addition, this section will make some comments on the role of the Tempus programme in CEE policies for internationalisation in higher education.

Internationalisation

Firstly, the term "internationalisation" in Central and Eastern Europe has to be seen in a slightly different light than in Western Europe. Internationalisation of higher education in Central and Eastern European countries is based on different motives and the instruments of internationalisation are perceived in a different way. These two aspects will be further explained below.

A fairly established definition of internationalisation in higher education is as follows:

> *Internationalisation of higher education is the process of integrating the international dimension into the teaching, research, and service functions of an institution of higher education. (Knight, 1994)*

In most Central and Eastern European countries, the transition process starting after the events of 1989 has served as a powerful stimulus to redefine and reshape these three main functions of the institution. Whereas the internationalisation process in higher education in Western European countries is a response to the globalisation of society in general, in Central and Eastern Europe it was the collapse of existing national structures that caused the development of new structures for higher education, in which the need for international cooperation is recognised.

The motives for internationalisation of higher education in Central and Eastern Europe are therefore different from those in Western Europe.

Re-establishment of contact with foreign academe, in teaching and in research, was of prime importance to the institutions and seen as a way to become part of Europe again. The international cooperation initiatives that were set up had the purpose of assistance with educational reform in general. In particular the EU-funded Tempus programme, the largest single fund for cooperation in higher education with CEE countries, has this specific aim, being a constituent part of the Phare (and Tacis) programmes which have the wider goal of assisting the CEE and NIS countries respectively in their transition to democratic and pluralistic market economies.

Previous international cooperation was far more limited in scale and concerned primarily other CEE countries, the former Soviet Union and also various developing countries.

This difference of motives and aims of CEE countries for international cooperation, as compared to Western countries, is not only apparent at the national and programme level, but also at the level of concrete activities or instruments of internationalisation.

Van der Wende (1994) identifies student mobility, staff mobility and curriculum development as the three main vehicles or means of internationalisation. In Central and Eastern European countries, the purpose of mobility is seen to lie in not only acquaintance with other cultures and widening of horizons – although indeed, for persons coming from closed societies, these purposes of mobility are even more of a concrete and confronting reality than for people who have had more regular contacts with other and different countries and cultures. In addition to this, "East to West academic mobility is certainly expected to assist economic growth and the overall transformation of society in the region and, while this may be true of academic mobility anywhere, such objectives are in this case far more explicit." (Cerych, 1996).

Internationalisation of curricula is in CEE countries most often interpreted in terms of bringing curricula in line with Western standards. This does not always imply that an international dimension is integrated in the curriculum itself, although it may often be, especially in such areas as law, where elements of European and international law are being introduced on a considerable scale.

Lajos (1996) also makes this different perspective of internationalisation explicit in saying that "International academic relations can make a significant contribution to discharging the responsibilities of higher education in three ways. They can facilitate the restructuring and development of universities, upgrade the service universities offer the society in which they operate and strengthen their links with other more developed societies." With regard to the Tempus programme, he says further that "[the] rationale is that such internationalisation is not merely an aim in itself, but an important resource in the development of post-secondary education."

An interesting rapprochement can however be perceived in the understanding and practice of internationalisation in CEE to that in Western Europe. Recently, the intentions of the CEE countries who have signed association agreements with the EU to participate in the EU educational programmes Socrates and Leonardo, have led them to direct their higher education reform efforts towards ensuring that the requirements for participation in those programmes can be met. In this framework an increasing amount of attention is being paid to transversal topics such as quality assurance, educational standards, university management etc. This is an interesting phenomenon: the interim results of reform, being achieved partly through international cooperation, are having the effect that further reform efforts are being targeted towards internationalisation.

Coordination mechanisms

Secondly, in the context of international comparison of higher education policies, recent developments have caused major changes in the mechanisms of coordination of higher education systems, which were fundamentally different from the systems in Western Europe.

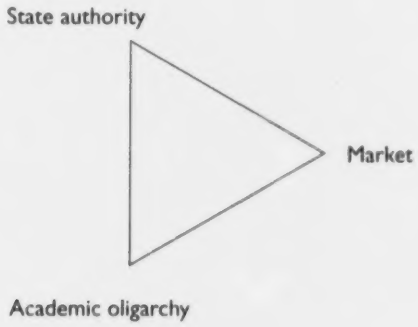
Coordination mechanisms of higher education systems are the result of an interplay between various forces, interests and actors. A model often used for describing and analysing such mechanisms is the "triangle of coordination" as developed by Clark (1983), in which the respective influences of the forces of the state authority, the academic oligarchy and the market are depicted. Each higher education system can be put at a certain position in the triangle. The closer to one of the apexes, the stronger the force of that actor and the weaker the force of the two others.

207

In CEE countries, traditionally the force of the market was very limited, if at all present, and control was very much in the hands of the state. The former Central and Eastern European higher education systems could therefore be positioned at the upper left apex of the triangle.

As a result of the changes of 1989 and afterwards, the two other forces have gained much in influence. This has been previously described as follows: "In terms of the Burton Clark Triangle, the transformation taking place in CEEC higher education systems can be characterised as a move from very close to the apex representing the State, towards the apexes representing, respectively, the institutions and the market. The relative importance accorded to these three poles of influence and control varies somewhat from country to country [..]." (Ryan, 1994). This move is illustrated in Figure 1 below.

Figure 1: Triangle of coordination



The reforms of the higher education system that got under way in the years after 1990 or in some countries already before, are laid down in new legislation on higher education, in which in particular the relations between national authorities and institutions have greatly been changed. Institutions have been granted extensive degrees of autonomy (both in terms of academic freedom for individual academics and in terms of substantive and procedural autonomy – cf. Goedegebuure et al. 1993). The extent of this autonomy and the precise delineation of the areas in which autonomy has been granted, differs from country to country.

The role of the market has also increased greatly; the most visible example of this is perhaps the emergence of many private institutions catering to the

needs of specific groups of students. Here again, this phenomenon is more marked in some countries than in others.

An example of an issue in higher education in which the importance of the market force is being recognised is accreditation. Dietl (1996) describes the current problems as follows: "Accreditation processes are based on objectivised conditions of education and curricula. Thus they have the character of *ex ante* accreditation and not of *ex post* accreditation based on student's qualifications and their careers."

The extensive autonomy granted to institutions is becoming somewhat of a problem in several countries, which are developing strategies and procedures for quality assurance and accreditation. Not coincidentally, these issues are two of the main strands of the new Phare multi-country programme for higher education. The freedom of public institutions to shape their curricula needs to be balanced by procedures for institutional accountability: the responsible spending of public funds. As for private institutions, their activities need to be regulated in the interest of consumer protection.

CEE governments are therefore currently finding their way in developing steering mechanisms that will ensure a good balance of the forces in the higher education system. In several countries, to this end intermediary or buffer organisations are being established for policy implementation and for providing advice and suggestions on policy development. There are roughly speaking two types of buffer organisations: on the one hand the "generic" rectors' conference-type of organisation, and on the other hand "specialised" organisations with specific competencies such as accreditation councils or councils on financing of higher education.

A specific category of "specialised" buffer organisation is formed by the National Tempus Offices. These small offices generally have a (semi) independent status and close relationships with the national Ministries of Education. Their supervisory or advisory boards include representatives of higher education institutions, ministries and the EC delegation. With the opening up of other EU education programmes such as Socrates and Leonardo for some countries in the region, a new set of Socrates National Agencies is being established. In some countries these offices are set up on the basis of or in very close connection to the Tempus office, but in some other countries the links between these offices are not so close. This may

result in problems with the transfer of the considerable expertise built up by the Tempus offices in dealing with EU, national and institutional policy and administration, to the Socrates agencies. In some cases there are indications that in fact the consolidation of expertise at the Tempus offices over the past few years is looked at unfavourably by the national ministries and perceived as an unwanted loss of power. In this way ministries would have a negative motive to facilitate the transfer of expertise from Tempus offices to Socrates agencies.

As already was becoming apparent in the preceding paragraph, the triangle of coordination in higher education changes further when the international dimension is taken into account. In higher education, the European authorities exercise influence both directly towards institutions, and indirectly through national authorities, which in their turn, in a certain sense, shape European policy, of course. The international market differs from the national market as regards student demand for education and demand for graduates from business and industry. Also the needs and concerns of the academic oligarchy are different when viewed from an international perspective.

The implications of the international environment for Clark's triangle are further elaborated in the general essay on national policies on internationalisation in higher education which will form a part of the outcomes of this study (Van der Wende, 1997 [above]).

Policy development in Central and Eastern Europe

The development and implementation of national policies on higher education in Central and Eastern Europe is complicated by both political and economic constraints in a way that differs to some extent from the situation in Western Europe.

With regard to political constraints, international higher education policy is necessarily related to a country's foreign policy. In many CEE countries, there is no explicit, strong concept or vision of foreign policy in general. The countries concerned are all in the process of shaping their national identity. A strong sense of national identity is a prerequisite for a strong and articulate foreign policy, and many countries are still struggling with the definition of their national identity. Complications in this area can for instance be related

to ethnic minorities within the country or parts of the national ethnic population living outside the national borders. (cf. Slovakia, Hungary, Romania and the former Yugoslav republics). Another difficult issue is the status, in the sense of national prestige, of a country after the events of 1989. Russia is a case in hand, but also perhaps for Albania it is difficult to suddenly see one's own country from a completely different perspective.

To some extent this situation might be compared to the post-colonial situation in some Western European countries a few decades ago, which countries also found themselves with a very different status in regional and world politics after the dissolution of the colonial relationships.

As a consequence of the transitional phase of shaping or reforming of the national identity, in general all countries have made the basic decision to cooperate with European Union countries, which is clearly reflected in their educational policies. However, within that general direction, only in a few cases specific sub-objectives, priorities or preferences have crystallised. For instance, in Polish material it is stated that preference is attached to regional cooperation (in the sub-national, not supra-national sense).

With regard to the specific characteristics of education as a political area, this may be one of the more difficult areas to develop and implement policy in. Education is a matter that concerns all citizens at different stages in their lives, and is a major determinant of individual life courses. As such, on the one hand all citizens generally have an acute interest in educational matters, and on the other hand, the size of the investments required is considerable. Moreover, in higher education the objects of the policy (i.e. academics) are eminently placed and qualified to express criticism of that policy.

In addition, it is very well possible that the position of power of the Minister of Education in the Cabinet of Ministers has undergone some negative changes in the past years, due to a complete overthrow of the old balances of power. This applies both to the governance of the country, and to the relationships between the different Ministers.

Policy implementation has become more difficult as the major policy instrument, that of legislation, which can be used to prohibit or to enforce actions, has been reshaped in a more liberal fashion with the consequence of losing part of its effectiveness.

Another policy instrument, that of stimulation, is difficult to apply in times of budgetary constraints: effective stimulation requires the creation of not only adequate conditions and opportunities but also of incentives: and the financial incentive is a strong one. This brings us to the matter of economic constraints for policy development and implementation, which are reasonably self-evident. All governments in Central and Eastern Europe and Russia have severe budget problems. The national budgets for education are often barely sufficient to cover the running costs of the teaching staff and upkeep of facilities. Investments in development, in innovation, in internationalisation are in most cases an impossibility.

An apt illustration of the reality of these constraints is the following elegant understatement from a Russian policy document: "Funding the programme [since 1994] would make it possible to considerably intensify its realisation." (State Committee for Higher Education, 1994).

The role of Tempus

The Tempus programme is part of the EU Phare and Tacis programmes for social and economic restructuring of Central and Eastern Europe and the New Independent States respectively. Tempus aims to support the development and restructuring of the higher education systems in the partner states.

The Tempus programme can be considered one of the main internationalisation instruments in the Phare countries. National budgets for higher education were and still are rather limited and often sufficient only to cover direct expenses like staff and student costs (if that). The launch of the Tempus programme in 1990 was a direct response to the needs of the higher education systems in CEE countries and in most countries became the main source, if not the only one, of funding for internationalisation.

Table 1. Overview of Tempus Phare budget

	1990/91	1991/92	1992/93	1993/94	1994/95	1995/96	1996/97
Total in MECU	23.16	70.5	98.0	129.15	95.9	98.1	83.1
No. of partner states	3	6	10	11	11	11	11

There appears to have been until quite recently a tendency at most CEE education ministries to let Tempus take care of international matters. In the evaluation of the Tempus programme this is described as follows:

> *The actual involvement of the Ministries of Education in the CEE partner countries in the processes of policy formation and decision-making for Tempus on the national level varies considerably. [On the whole, a more pro-active involvement of the Ministries in Tempus could have been expected because Tempus is also targeted to achieve impacts on the level of the higher education systems in the CEE partner countries.] A coherent and integrated higher education development strategy existed in none of the CEE partner countries during Tempus I. (Kehm et al, 1996)*

Tempus activities are coordinated with national higher education policy in a process of mutual consultation and agreement between the European Commission and the national CEE authorities. One of the main reasons for this on the part of the Commission is stated explicitly to be, "to provide the authorities of the partner states with an instrument adaptable to the overall higher education reform policy" (Tempus compendium 1996/97).

In addition, national policies for higher education are necessarily coordinated with the Phare programme, and Tempus management must relate both to national policies for higher education and to the Phare programme.
In the absence of well-defined national policies for internationalisation, we may therefore assume that the national Tempus priorities are a not too inaccurate reflection of the overall national strategy for internationalisation.

For the purpose of this study it is important to remember, though, that Tempus is not and cannot be a national policy instrument – because it is an EU programme and, more importantly, because it is principally a bottom-up programme. As indicated above, the priorities for Tempus are established annually in consultation with all national relevant actors and adjusted annually on the basis of the implementation results of the last round and other recent developments in the higher education sector and society in general. The national Ministries of Education therefore have only a limited degree of control over this process. They have come increasingly to recognise, however, that it can be used as one of the instruments of national policy.

It can be assumed that the other EU educational programmes that are or soon will be open to some of the countries under review, will likewise play a significant role in national policies for internationalisation of higher

education. What the exact nature of this role will be cannot yet be indicated at this moment.

Findings

In this section, aggregate descriptions will be given of the national policies for internationalisation in higher education of CEE countries and Russia, structured along the lines of the six objectives set out in 1.2. The purpose of this exercise is to outline general trends and issues, and therefore full justice cannot be done to details of individual countries.

Rationales of the national internationalisation policies

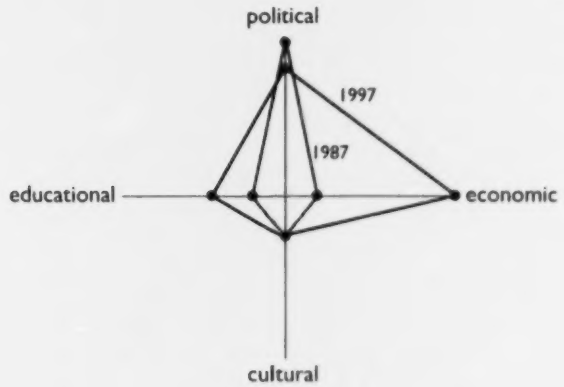
Van der Wende (1997) also discusses a model for characterising the internationalisation policy with the help of a set of rationales developed by Knight and De Wit (1995): political, economic, cultural and educational rationales. These are defined as follows:

- political: everything related to the country's position & role as a nation in the world (security, stability/peace, ideological influence
- economic: everything related to the direct (income and net economic effect of foreign students) and long term economic benefits (such as internationally trained graduates and foreign graduates as keys to trade relations, etc.)
- educational: everything generally related to the aims and functions of higher education
- cultural: everything related to the role and place of a country's culture and language

The internationalisation policy can be characterised by indicating the relative importance of each of the rationales on the respective axis in the model. In Figure 2 below an attempt is made to characterise the internationalisation policies in Central and Eastern Europe and Russia with the help of this model. This is naturally a vast generalisation and over-simplification of an infinitely more varied and complex situation.

In a region so full of political turmoil, it is hardly surprising that the very fundaments of policy have been and are still being questioned. The challenges to the political status quo of before 1989 concern not just a single element of policy development and implementation, but all aspects of policy: actors, context, content, methods and means, etc. Any depiction of basal policy ideas is therefore bound to be in need of continual readjustment.

Figure 2. Rationales for the internationalisation policies in Central and Eastern Europe and Russia



Before the changes of 1987, the limited degree of international cooperation of the CEE countries and Russia was based mainly on political and cultural motives, and only to a very modest extent on educational or economic rationales. In particular, of course, the then Soviet policy of cooperation with the CEE countries and developing countries was politically and partly culturally based.

The current basic concept can be defined as a wish to re-join the European (CEE) or world (Russia) educational community. This is in CEE countries very closely related to the general foreign policy strategy for joining the European Union adopted by most of these countries.

Nowadays, the economic motive for international cooperation, as a source of funding for higher education reform, has become very strong: aid for restructuring the higher education systems, including rebuilding international contacts, is provided by EU funds. Internationalisation as a means for strengthening political links with the EU is also playing an increasingly important role.

With regard to the educational rationale, the impression is that at least at the institutional level and the level of individual academics, there is a widely felt interest in re-joining the international higher education community after years of relative isolation by sharing experiences in teaching and research:

internationalisation as a means for improving the quality of education, although conceptually internationalisation is not so much regarded as a new quality dimension, or an added value, to education; rather, international cooperation is seen as a means for upgrading and reforming education, by means of – amongst others – curricular development (see also 2.1). The strength of this rationale does not seem to be quite as large at the national level.

In Russian policy the cultural aspect of dissemination of Russian language and culture is made explicit. This aspect does not seem to be very pronounced in the CEE countries.

Priorities in the national policies

In the first place, it should be stated that responsibility for at least policy implementation is moving or has moved from the national authorities to the institutional, and in some cases, faculty level. Policy development for internationalisation in higher education at national level has been rather ad hoc and more inspired by actual developments in the institutions, than providing inspirations for developments. It seems that only in recent years (1994 and later) national authorities have started to formulate their policy ideas on internationalisation in higher education. The new buffer organisations play an important role in this.

The primary geographic focus for the CEE countries is the European Union. For Russia, it is not only Europe but the world in general. It is generally accepted and acknowledged in all countries that institutions should be the vehicle for internationalisation activities and that they should be autonomous in this. The institutional level is the primary target level, more so than the individual students.

The national policies for internationalisation are not all equally explicit. In general the Tempus priorities are the most concrete expression of the national policies.

An important issue in internationalisation is curriculum development in specific (different) subject areas, which differ between countries. Often there is a tendency, in the framework of the Tempus programme, to annually revise the list of priority subject areas to ensure that all relevant areas are covered

or at least addressed over time. Motives for subject area choices often concern their relevance to the wider economic reform, and relevance to the pre-accession strategy.

In addition to curriculum development, staff and student mobility are important activities; in some countries more than in others. In particular Hungary attaches great importance to student mobility.

Over the past few years, a shift has taken place in the Tempus priorities from a focus on subject areas to a focus on transversal or horizontal issues such as strengthening of university management, quality assurance and accreditation, educational standards, credit transfer systems and strengthening of institutional offices for international relations. This, again, varies between countries: the Baltic states' priorities, for instance, are now exclusively targeted at such issues, whereas Albania and Romania retain some subject area priorities, and the only subject area that the Czech Republic prioritises is European studies. Other such areas are the development of university-industry relations which are for instance emphasised in Estonia and Hungary.

The Russian State Committee for Higher Education formulates the prime goal of its policy for international cooperation in higher education as follows: "Our task is integrating into the international community in order to borrow from others and to share the best achievements of Russian scholars and teachers gradually accumulated in the course of centuries. [..] The major objectives are integrating Russian higher education into the international system of education, ensuring participation of Russian educational institutions in the international scientific, technological and educational market, providing conditions for and setting in motion mechanisms of turning every higher educational institutions into an independent subject of international cooperation, developing international relations in order to attract foreign learners and scholars to Russian universities and promoting reciprocity in learning Russian and foreign languages and cultures."

The State Committee attaches great importance to the attracting of foreign students to Russia, amongst others by means of Russian institutions participating in international educational fairs. Distance education is identified as one of the priority areas of international cooperation.

Policy development

Apart from the priority definition procedures in the framework of the Tempus programme, the procedures for national policy development in general seem to be in a process of transition. The national Ministries of Education are formally responsible for policy development. In the first years after 1990, the Ministries do not seem to have played a very prominent role with regard to development of internationalisation policy. Setényi (1994) describes the role of the Hungarian Ministry of education as follows: "[..] the independent policy making role of the Ministry in both Brussels and in the Supervisory Board (e.g. in the case of appointments) can be described as minimal, and is confined mainly to ensuring individual, professional and political equilibrium."

In several countries buffer organisations play a distinct role in providing advice and suggestions on policy development: Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria and the Czech Republic are examples. These organisations can be distinguished into two types: the generic rectors' conference-type of organisation, and organisations with specific competencies such as accreditation councils or councils on financing of higher education (see also 2.2). In Russia, on the other hand, policy development seems to take place predominantly at the Ministry level. In the framework of Tempus, policy development takes place in a process of consultation in which are involved the National Tempus Office and the Tempus Advisory or Supervisory Board that as a rule consists of representatives of institutions, ministries and the EC delegation. The final proposal is made by the national Ministry of Education and the formal decision is taken by the EU. The National Tempus Office mostly prepares the first draft. Sometimes the NTO consults the institutions before the finalisation of this draft, as in the Czech Republic, sometimes the draft is submitted to the institutions for comments, or institutions are involved in the process through their representatives in the Tempus Supervisory Board. In the framework of the Tempus Tacis programme (in which Russia participates), consultation with national authorities on the priorities for the individual countries has been instituted only in 1996.

No information on procedures for regular monitoring and evaluation of internationalisation could be identified in the documentation. Tempus Offices often fulfil an important role in providing feedback on Tempus operations into the Tempus priority development process. Hungary stands out in this respect with the 1993 initiative of producing a comprehensive

evaluation of Tempus in Hungary, containing many excellent reflections and contributions of key actors and researchers in Hungarian (international) higher education.

Policy implementation

Policy implementation depends on the types of instruments that a government is able to and has power to use. The implementation of national policies in terms of the range of instruments that can be used, is severely hampered by the lack of funds. Legislation as a means of policy implementation does not appear to be used explicitly for the purposes of internationalisation (see also I.4.3).

From the material available, only very few countries have budgets devoted explicitly to internationalisation.

The Tempus programme therefore is the main funding source for internationalisation activities which can be controlled to some extent by the national governments. An infrastructure for the management of Tempus has been set up in all countries in the form of national Tempus offices. The formal status of these offices varies between countries; from Slovenia, in which Tempus tasks are carried out by the Department of International Relations within the Ministry of Science, to Lithuania, where the Tempus Office has equivalent status to that of Ministries. See also section 2.4.

Another international programme that has an impact on a part of the region is the CEEPUS[1] programme, initiated by Austria in 1993 and launched in 1995, for cooperation between currently 7 countries: Austria, Bulgaria, Croatia, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia. Each country is involved at Ministry level and has a National CEEPUS Office serving as national information and administration agency. Each country pledges a number of scholarship months per year, which then can be used by students from the other countries. In addition inter-university networks are being established in which student exchange, joint curriculum development, lectures in English, French or German and recognition arrangements are promoted.

[1] Central European Exchange Programme for University Studies

Effects on the higher education system

Without a shadow of a doubt, many far-reaching changes have taken place in the higher education systems of the CEE countries and Russia. To some extent, all these changes can be attributed to the opening up of these formerly closed societies. In that sense, they can all be said to be the effect of internationalisation. On the other hand, national policies for international education in higher education have not played a major role in providing directions to the developments in higher education. These developments were rather the result of general reform measures, institutional initiatives (in particular in Hungary, Estonia, Latvia) or the sheer momentum of the transition process); in that sense, none of the changes can be directly attributed to any such policy.

Having said this, some of the changes may be singled out.

The introduction in most countries of the three-tier, Anglo-Saxon degree structure is no doubt at least partly inspired by the wish to increase transparency and compatibility with Western education systems. This structural reform is in some countries laid down in legislation only in reaction to reform measures already being accomplished in the institutions. In other countries reform seems to go more in parallel. The introduction of credit systems is not always directly due to international cooperation: in Latvia, for instance, the credit system put in place in some institutions serves primarily the internal purpose of resource allocation to modules and teachers according to the relative weight and needs to be further adapted and elaborated to suit the context of international student exchange.

The introduction of a sector for higher vocational education in the Czech and Slovak republics can be named a result of the OECD review carried out in 1992/1993.

Development and reform of curricular content is in some subject areas, such as law, directly linked to the requirements of the pre-accession strategy. The introduction of new subject areas such as marketing, tourism, informatics is also inspired by increased international cooperation.

In most countries institutions tend to provide an increasing number of courses in languages other than the national language, such as English, or German or French, with the purpose of attracting more foreign students and

increasing the reciprocity of student exchange with Western European countries. In Hungary, for instance, this initiative was already started in the late 1980s. In recent years this is gaining in importance in the light of the coming participation in the EU mobility programmes of Socrates and Leonardo.

The establishment of private institutions notably in Romania and in Russia are facilitated by the reformed legislation on higher education in general rather than by any specific internationalisation policy.

Interaction between national policies and international initiatives

It may be evident from remarks made in earlier paragraphs that in Central and Eastern Europe and also Russia there is close interaction between international initiatives and national policy. The main orientation that seems to have become the main underlying concept for CEE internationalisation policies is the orientation towards the European Union. This entails that in policy development individual issues are tailored to increase compatibility with EU standards and practices, in higher education in general and in internationalisation in higher education.
The concrete international initiatives concerned are in particular the EU Tempus Phare and Phare programmes, but also Soros initiatives, World bank programmes and bilateral initiatives.

In some countries the national governments depend on international efforts for implementing changes in the higher education system, both in terms of financial support and because they consider it important that the reforms in areas such as accreditation, financing, regulation of research etc. are developed in harmony with existing European practice.

An interesting example of regional policy interaction is the development of joint priorities in the framework of Tempus by the Baltic countries.

In Russia, international initiatives undoubtedly have an effect on the development of national policy and in particular the different specific areas of attention. However, the basic principle of Russian internationalisation policy, that of integration into the world education system while maintaining and disseminating Russian values and concepts, remains unchanged.

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International comparative analysis and synthesis

Marijk van der Wende

Introduction

This chapter aims to compare and analyse the national policies for the internationalisation of higher education in Europe as described in the previous chapters. This will be done in a thematic way, following the various issues described in the country chapters, which as such were derived from the central research questions of this study. These were as follows:

1. Why do national governments stimulate internationalisation of higher education (general rationales) and what are their motives to set certain priorities?
2. How do national governments establish and implement their internationalisation policies?
3. To what extent and how has internationalisation affected the national higher education system and policy and *vice versa*?

Consequently, the chapter will discuss the rationales of the national policies, their priorities, the mechanisms and means for policy development and implementation, the effects of internationalisation policies on the national system, and the interplay between national policies and international initiatives.

Outcomes of the comparison and analysis will be synthesised and linked back to the theoretical insights as set out in chapter two. General conclusions of the international comparative analysis will be presented and discussed in the next chapter.

In this study, a particular focus is placed on the period of 1985-2000. In this chapter, however, some elements of the national policies will be placed in a wider historical perspective.

Rationales for the countries' internationalisation policies

In chapter 2, possible rationales for policies on internationalisation of higher education have been clustered into four groups: economic, political, cultural and educational rationales. For the purpose of this study the various terms have been interpreted as follows. The economic rationale refers to objectives related to either the direct economic benefits (like institutional income and net economic effect of foreign students) or the indirect or long term economic effects (such as internationally qualified graduates and foreign graduates as keys to the country's trade relations, etc.) of internationalisation. Political rationales relate to issues concerning the country's position and role as a nation in the world (security, stability and peace, ideological influence, etc.). The educational rationale includes objectives related to the aims and functions of higher education. The cultural rationale concentrates on the role and place of the country's own culture and language and on the importance of understanding foreign languages and culture. As we will see below, the various rationales cannot always be easily distinguished from each other and are also in the design of the policy sometimes consciously linked.

In general, the data given on this aspect of the policies, can be distinguished into two aspects. First, the motivation of the policy; the reason why at all the country did decide to have an internationalisation policy. And second, the more specific aims it would like to achieve by means of this policy.

From the reports it occurs that historical and geopolitical variables have strongly influenced the fundamental motivation of the policies. Major events, such as the end of World War II, the period of de-colonisation, the process of European integration and the fall of the Berlin Wall, are reflected in the motives of the countries for (re)shaping their internationalisation policies.

Changes over time

Generally speaking, the post World-War II period was characterised by international co-operation that concentrated primarily on research, and that was based on bilateral arrangements and individual contacts of academics. Mobility of students was limited to flows between North-America and Western Europe and between the former Soviet Union and its satellite countries. From the early 1960s on, a significant flow of foreign students from former colonies became established. Around the 1980s a new increase

in North-North mobility can be observed, as well as a move towards more organised forms of mobility.

The mid 1980s represent a major point for change in the western European countries concerned in this study. With the introduction of the European mobility programmes, the internationalisation of higher education becomes multilateral, more education oriented, and obtains an important European focus. This pattern is followed by countries that joined the European Union at a later date, such as Austria, Finland and Sweden. For the Central and Eastern European countries, major changes were introduced in the early 1990s, when a re-joining of the European higher education community could be realised and major reforms in the higher education system were introduced.

At present some new developments can be observed. On the one hand they represent a renewed focus on wider international co-operation, which aims at regions and markets beyond Europe. On the other hand, coinciding with the directions taken in the new SOCRATES programme, they lead to more institutionally based forms of internationalisation. However, the Danish report may be illustrative for many of the other countries in its comment that this institutional basis is still very fragile.

With these changes over time, a shifting emphasis on the various rationales for internationalisation can be observed. In the first period after World War II, and based on political considerations, internationalisation policies were especially focused on humanitarian aims of improving understanding between people for peaceful coexistence, and, later on, on solidarity with countries in the non-industrialised world. Increasingly, however, concerns related to international competence and competitiveness, and thus economic rationales, became more important. It was felt that international labour markets require from the higher education system to deliver graduates with academic, linguistic and intercultural qualifications that are internationally competitive. The economic rationale to a great extent also formed the basis of the European policy on higher education, as laid down in the Memorandum on Higher Education (1992). It was, in the discussions on this Memorandum, often criticised as being too dominant. The educational and cultural rationales, reflected in measures like the mobility of students and staff, the improvement of the quality of education, a greater compatibility of study programmes and degrees, and an enhanced knowledge of other

languages and cultures, seemed all to be derived from the overarching economic rationale of strengthening human resources for international competitiveness.

So far, we can observe that political rationales have been the fundamental driving force for internationalisation policies in all periods. During the period of installing new peace and stability after the war, the period of restructuring the relationships with the former colonies, as well as during the process of integration into the European Union. At the same time, however, we can see that after having found new stability and peace, the economic rationale of international competitiveness becomes increasingly important. In the first place very much in the context of the European integration process, but in some cases very strongly for the individual country as well.

The last point might explain to some extent why in some of the country reports, it was indicated that there has been a shift from more educationally oriented towards more economically oriented policies over the last few years. For many countries the European integration process was seen as a first and important means to achieve the desired international competitiveness. European co-operation in higher education, with its strong educational and cultural elements, was therefore strongly emphasised in the various national policies for internationalisation of higher education. And although the mobility of students and staff, the improvement of the quality of education, the recognition of foreign study periods and degrees, the development of a European dimension in study programmes, and the strengthening of knowledge of foreign languages and cultures, have always been mechanisms to serve the wider goal of economic competitiveness, they became as such central aims of the internationalisation policies. It could even be said that, in particular in the view of the higher education community, they may even have been perceived as an end in themselves.

The economic rationale: diversity between countries

At present, we can see a diversity in the extent to which the various countries rely on European strategies as it comes to their international competitiveness. Alternative and complementary strategies can be discerned, which are reflected in their policies for the internationalisation of higher education.

In the case of Austria, besides the accession to the European Union, the collapse of communism in Central and Eastern Europe resulted in a move

west and eastwards at the same time. As for internationalisation of higher education, however, in both cases, European Union policies and programmes represent an important framework. Additionally, a scale of actions has been developed at the national level.

For the northern European countries, in addition to EU co-operation, regional Nordic co-operation represents an important strategy for international co-operation in higher education and also in other areas that contribute to the international competitiveness of the countries. The economical perspective here concerns the mutual benefit of available educational infrastructure in the region.

Regional co-operation also plays a role in the Dutch strategy, where, partly inspired by the Nordic example, co-operation is sought with neighbouring countries. Here the economic perspective reaches as far as to avoid duplication of efforts and to achieve economies of scale. New mobility strategies in the Netherlands focus in particular on the most talented students, which may very well increase the competitiveness within the higher education system. Furthermore, the Dutch are explicitly interested in developing higher education into an export product, targeted at countries outside the EU (e.g. south-east Asia).

Also in the strategy of the United Kingdom, the perspective on higher education as a tradable activity is very clear. Moreover, it represents a source of income for higher education institutions, which may partly compensate for the nationally defined budgetary reductions. But also for its own students, the United Kingdom considers internationalisation of higher education as a response to the need to make it a more internationally competitive trading nation, both within the EU, but more especially in the expanding markets of Asia and Latin America.

In Germany, the economic rationale is also increasingly apparent. Since the awareness that Germany has lost its attractiveness for foreign students, especially for those from dynamic developing countries in Latin America and south-east Asia, national level policy makers decided that increased co-operation with these countries should be sought. In order to make the German higher education system more attractive, a restructuring of diplomas and degrees is being considered.

Above, the importance of the economic rationale as a result of the countries' drive for international competitiveness has been demonstrated. Besides this, the reinforcement of this rationale has also been motivated by the parallel developments of massification and of reductions in public expenditure on higher education, that characterise the period on which this study is focused (1985-2000). Therefore, a further distinction between the countries needs to be made. Firstly, there are countries in which the internationalisation of higher education is part of a strategy for the immediate economic reforms that are underway in the country, as is the case in Central and Eastern Europe. Secondly we have those countries pursuing an indirect or long-term economic benefit from the internationalisation of higher education. Thirdly, we have those which aim for direct economic effects. Fourthly, countries may consider internationalisation (i.e. long-term study abroad) as a way of avoiding investments in educational infrastructure that are, as a result of demographic trends forseen to meet an only temporary need (this category of countries is not represented by the sample of countries involved in this study).

In a way, all countries have the long-term economic perspective, where internationalisation of higher education is seen as a contribution to the skilled human resources needed for international competitiveness of the nation, and where foreign graduates are seen as a key to good trade relations. In this long-term perspective, the internationalisation of higher education is seen as worth the investment in a first instance.

Additional to this long-term perspective, some countries (in particular the United Kingdom and the Netherlands) also expect more direct economic effects from the internationalisation of higher education. In stead of an investment or *input* into the higher education system, here internationalisation is seen as an expected performance; as an element of the *output* of the system. Depending on the country's system for the financing of higher education and on tuition fee policies, this may create on the one hand more pressure on the higher education system. On the other hand it can create important opportunities for entrepreneurial institutions. The latter, however, depends of course strongly on the level of institutional autonomy granted to the institutions. Another country that should be mentioned here is Russia, which is also developing a strategy for attracting fee-paying foreign students, especially from developing countries and from former socialist states. Russian higher education institutions try to learn actively, from UK institutions in particular, how this strategy can improve outside sources of funding

in what continues to be an impoverished educational environment. The role of the national government is so far limited to sending delegations to international student fairs.

The educational rationale

Despite the strong and in some cases increasing role of economic thrusts, all countries at the same time did retain to some extent the educational perspective on internationalisation of higher education. Very directly so in countries where internationalisation is seen as a means for upgrading and reforming higher education, i.e. in Central and Eastern Europe. But also in the other countries that all consider international co-operation as indispensable for maintaining the quality of higher education and research. The Scandinavian countries should also be mentioned in particular here, as foreign students are here exclusively seen as a means to counterbalance outgoing students and to internationalise the campuses. Direct economic motives play no role in this respect. In the case of the UK, it could be said that whereas the economic rationale has been very strong and successful, the educational rationale has probably been underrepresented, as no specific arrangements have been made in order to adapt the curriculum, teaching staff, language of instruction, etc. to the exposure of British students who stay at home to an international dimension. But also in relation to foreign students, educational concerns become more prevalent. Based on quality reviews, insiders now plead for the design of a national policy that: "should encourage universities and colleges to think more carefully about the curricular and quality implications of moving into the global market place" (Times Higher Education Supplement, 25/4/1997).

Finally, in the case of some particular countries, we can see that other rationales have remained important alongside the arguments and developments as discussed above. The case of Sweden is remarkable, where the solidarity goal in relation to developing countries has always been and still is an explicit and weighty element of the national policy for internationalisation of higher education. So its traditional role of humanitarian and peace-keeping missions is still a factor of importance in its policy. But examples may also be found in other countries, such as Finland which explicitly mentions peaceful coexistence and the combat of racism and prejudice as among the aims of its internationalisation policy.

Priorities in the policies for internationalisation of higher education

The country rapporteurs have been asked to describe the priorities in the national policy in terms of specific target regions and countries, national target institutions and groups, type of activities and subject areas. In this section, the collected data will be compared in terms of similarities and differences between countries. Furthermore, it will analyse some trends that are emerging in the various countries.

Target regions and countries

Firstly, the geographical orientation of the policies of the various countries will be analysed. With regard to the below presented matrix, it is important to note that it only reflects the priority regions and countries. Consequently, national policies may very well include other, non-priority, regions and countries as well. In some cases, regions or countries that are of importance for higher education may not have been mentioned, as they are not considered to be a part of the country's internationalisation policy (i.e. in countries where development co-operation is considered as a separate policy area).

Matrix 1: Priorities in national policies: target regions and countries

Target regions & countries	EU	Central & Eastern Europe	North America	Asia	Latin America	Developing countries
Austria	Multilateral co-operation EU programmes Bilateral co-operation	National Action programmes (Czech Rep., Slovakia, Hungary) CEEPUS TEMPUS	Fulbright Treaty EC-US EC-Canada		ALFA	Various countries in Central America Africa
Denmark	Multilateral co-operation EU programmes Regional co-operation NORDPLUS					

Finland	Multilateral co-operation EU programmes Regional co-operation NORDPLUS NORDTEK	TACIS PHARE National initiatives targeted at Estonia and other Baltic States	Fulbright ISEP EC-US EC-Canada	Bilateral co-operation with various south-east Asian countries		Various countries in Africa, South America ans Asia
Germany	Multilateral co-operation EU programmes	National support programmes EU programmes		Cooperati on Recruitment of foreign students		Various countries in Central America Southern
Greece	Multilateral cooperation EU programmes					
Netherlands	Multilateral co-operation EU programmes Neighbouring countries	EU programmes National support programmes for Russia and Hungary		Recruitment of foreign students		
Sweden	Multilateral co-operation EU programmes	Baltic states North-west Russia		Bilateral co-operation	Bilateral co-operation	Various countries in Africa, Latin America, and Asia
United Kingdom	Multilateral co-operation EU programmes			Recruitment of foreign students		
Central & Eastern Europe	Multilateral co-operation EU programmes Bilateral co-operation					Recruitment of foreign students (Russia)

The above presented matrix demonstrates clearly that for all countries concerned in this study multilateral co-operation with other countries of the European Union, and by means of the EU programmes for higher education, represents an important element of their national policies.

Besides this, various forms of regional and bilateral co-operation with countries of the European Union play an important role as well. Nordic co-operation is probably the most well-known example of such regional co-operation. The example of Austria (ARGE: Alpen-Adria) is particularly interesting as it includes European Union countries as well as Central European countries.

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Bilateral co-operation with European Union countries is seen by Austria as a means to achieve a better position on a multi-lateral level. In the view of the Netherlands, which concentrates on neighbouring countries, it is seen as an additional strategy and as a way to realise more advanced stages of co-operation than those which are feasible through multi-lateral co-operation.

Central and Eastern European countries focus their international co-operation very strongly on the European Union. The EU programmes for assistance and co-operation with Central and Eastern Europe, as well as the various bilateral initiatives, are major sources for funding of higher education reform. Russia is the only country that explicitly claims to have a wider international scope.

EU countries differ in their orientation on Central and Eastern Europe as a target region. Austria, Finland and Sweden concentrate on countries that are in their proximity. Germany reports on an increased co-operation with Central and Eastern Europe, in particular through relationships that were established by the former East Germany. Dutch national efforts focus on two particular countries (Russia and Hungary).

Co-operation with developing countries is in the case of some countries (e.g. Austria, Finland, Germany and Sweden) a clear and integral element of their internationalisation policy. In other countries (e.g. the Netherlands and the United Kingdom), the involvement of the higher education sector in developing co-operation is considered as a separate policy area and by other policy actors.

A clear trend in the various countries concerns the shift towards wider international co-operation. After a period of intensive concentration on multi-lateral co-operation within the EU, now many countries are looking (again) beyond this region. This seems to be initiated or supported only to a very limited extent by EU programmes (i.e. EC-US, EC-Canada and ALFA). Much stronger are the initiatives that various individual countries are taking towards, in particular, economically dynamic countries in south-east Asia and, to a certain extent, also in Latin America. Diversity can be observed in the objectives of these efforts. Whereas for some countries (i.e. Finland and Sweden) the attempt is being made to establish co-operation between institutions, other countries (United Kingdom, the Netherlands and Germany) are more particularly interested in the recruitment of foreign

students from this region. Besides an interest in long-term economic benefits, this relates in the case of some countries (i.e. the United Kingdom, which has the longest tradition in this policy, and the Netherlands) also to direct economic benefits (full-fee paying students).

National target institutions and target groups

The next aspect of the national policies that will be investigated, concerns the national target institutions and target groups. In general all types of higher education institutions, both university and non-university education, are included. As far as EU countries are concerned, it can be stated that there is a quantitative emphasis on undergraduate students, although special measures may exist for PhD students, young scholars or teachers. With regard to the latter, the Finnish report stresses that teacher mobility is sometimes regarded as "co-operation of second degree", as it is often focused on facilitating student mobility or on internationalisation of curricula. This may to some extent be true for other countries as well, where, as we know from other sources, numbers of mobile teachers, especially when it concerns teaching assignments abroad, are often quite low.

Central and Eastern European countries represent an exception with regard to the primary focus of the internationalisation policies. Whereas in the EU countries this is put on the individual, in CEE countries it is placed on the institutional level. Related to this, curriculum development receives far more attention here than is the case in EU countries. However, also for EU countries, as was stated in some of the reports, the institutional and curriculum level seem to become more important. Moreover, this may be expected to happen as a result from the new SOCRATES approach, which would also imply that once the CEE countries get involved in this programme, the above described differences in focus between EU and CEE countries may diminish.

Priority actions

The matrix given below presents the national policy priorities in terms of activities undertaken by the various countries. It should be noted, that the matrix only indicates in an absolute way whether or not a certain type of activity represents a policy priority. As no data on the size of the activity, or on the proportion of the overall budgets spent on it, has been collected, the

matrix does not provide information on the relative importance or weight of a certain activity within the country's policy, as compared to the other mentioned actions. Neither does it demonstrate any relative comparison between countries.

Matrix 2: Priorities in the national policies: type of activities

	Student mobility	Mobility of teachers & scholars	Curriculum development	Institutional cooperation	Student recruitment	Credit transfer/ diplomas & degrees	Language culture	Distance education/ information thechnology
Austria	x	x	x				x	
Denmark	x	x	x			x	x	x
Finland	x	x	x				x	
Germany	x	x	x	x	x	x		
Greece	x	x					x	
Netherlands	x	x	x	x	x			
Sweden	x	x	x	x			x	
United Kingdom	x	x			x			
Central & Eastern Europe (Russia)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

An initial observation regarding the above presented overview of priorities actions, is the fact that, besides the traditional activities of mobility of students, teachers and scholars, rather many countries indicate curriculum development as a priority area. This may be related to the objective to better prepare domestic students for international labour markets, as well as to enhance the attractiveness of study programmes for foreign students. An example of the latter can be found in Germany, where the new "Action Programme for the Support of Studies Undertaken by Foreign Students at German Higher Education Institutions" aims to internationalise the content of studies. The trend towards more emphasis on curriculum development coincides with the new emphasis on this issue in the SOCRATES programme. However, it should be borne in mind, that (as we know from various other sources) until now curriculum development is still an activity that is much smaller in size and budget than mobility activities. An exception to this is the situation in Central and Eastern European countries, where curriculum

development is the absolute priority action number one. Also Denmark should be mentioned, as here the internationalisation of study programmes formed a priority in the national policy for internationalisation relatively early on.

A second observation that occurred from the country reports, is the fact that the Scandinavian countries mention the mobility of students for placements in foreign business and industry more often than the other countries do. Furthermore, co-operation with industry was indicated as a priority area only by Denmark, Estonia, and Hungary.

As a third point, we can mention the specific form of student mobility, which is the possibility for long-term study abroad, as is offered by Sweden, Denmark, and (to a more limited extent) the Netherlands, where students can take their state grants and loans abroad for study at a foreign institution.

Fourthly, the teaching and learning of languages and cultures is an important area in countries where students are stimulated to study foreign languages (e.g. Sweden and Finland) and in countries that put an emphasis on the teaching and learning of their own language and culture by foreigners (e.g. Denmark and Russia).

Fifthly, priority actions in the field of credit transfer and degree systems, may refer to the transferability of credit points, but more importantly also to considerations to a change in the entire degree system of the country in order to enhance the international compatibility of diplomas and degrees. This has been accomplished in Finland, in Denmark (as far as PhD training is concerned), the process is underway in some of the CEE countries and the idea is currently under discussion in Germany.

Sixthly, the matrix shows the relatively narrow approach of the policy of the United Kingdom, which is exclusively based on various types of mobility. This strategy has had an impact on the institutional level, however, as the recruitment and reception of foreign students (both fee-paying and exchange students) urged for solid institutional infrastructure and strategic policies. Another reason for this situation may be found in the high level of institutional autonomy, which decreases the role of national policy in the area of international co-operation.

In general, it can be concluded that national policies for internationalisation are still predominantly, although not exclusively, based on the traditional instruments of mobility of students and faculty. However, some areas of growing importance, such as curriculum development and institutional co-operation, can be observed. In chapter 2, two developments that influence the internationalisation of higher education, have been indicated: recruitment of foreign students and the role of information and communication technologies. In addition to the United Kingdom, where this has a long tradition, the recruitment of foreign students has clearly become a priority in the policies of some other countries as well. A view on the role of information and communication technology, however, is still lacking in almost all countries, except for Denmark, where is it among the four mentioned priorities. Obviously, important developments in the use of new technologies in international distance education are taking place in various countries (notably the United Kingdom). This, however, is not reflected in the national policies for internationalisation, but rather results from institutional initiatives. In terms of national policies, Russia is the only country that mentions (international) distance education as a priority area.

Towards more comprehensive policies for internationalisation

In chapter 2, the following definition of internationalisation of higher education has been presented: "any systematic, sustained effort aimed at making higher education (more) responsive to the requirements and challenges related to the globalisation of societies, economy and labour markets". In the light of this definition, the above reported developments are important. It seems that in most of the countries (although the extent to which may vary very largely), a shift is taking place from the individual to the institutional level, and, in some cases, even to the system level. The national policies include an increasingly wider range of activities (and are thus becoming more comprehensive), and focus more strongly on the curriculum, on the institutional organisation and management and on the structure of the higher education system as such. A stronger focus on the curriculum has been reported by several countries. A number of them also reported on an upgrading of institutional co-operation and some on a review of the higher education system as such.

The Dutch policy for co-operation with neighbouring countries constitutes an interesting example, as it reflects an intense degree of co-operation at the

institutional level, both in educational (e.g. joint development of study programmes, innovation, quality improvement, etc.) as well as in administrative terms (e.g. enrolment, human resources management, etc.). Central and Eastern European policies are interesting in the respect that they concentrate on transversal measures that relate directly to the institutional level and to issues of general higher education policy, e.g. university management, quality assurance and accreditation, credit transfer, etc.

In the light of the definition, the above described developments can be considered as positive, since sustainable change in education needs indeed to be based on comprehensive strategies, targeted both at the individual and the institutional level. Furthermore, the system level, as the direct environment in which the institutions operate (and which thus creates the main set of conditions), is of great importance as well. Moreover, in the light of the gap between internationalisation policies and general higher education policy, it can be said that these more comprehensive and multi-layer strategies create better conditions towards a narrowing of the gap between the two areas of policy making.

Subject areas

Finally, this part of the study also aimed at investigating policy priorities in terms of subject areas. In this respect, no clear trends, similarities or differences between the various countries can be discerned. The Finnish report distinguishes between subject areas for which the need to internationalise can be seen as accruing directly from the needs of economy (i.e. technological fields and economics and business studies), areas that are related to safeguarding the country's own culture, while learning to understand other European cultures and societal models (i.e. humanities and social sciences), subjects naturally susceptible to an international orientation (languages), and those areas in which the nationally controlled nature of qualifications may have caused problems (law and teacher training). This overview may be illustrative for the western European countries more generally. With regard to the CEE countries, it can be said that national policies prioritise those subject areas that are directly relevant for the economic reform process.

The development of national policies

From the new model for coordination of higher education in an international context, as presented in chapter 2, three questions (related to fields A, B, C) regarding the development of policies for higher education, and more specifically for internationalisation of higher education have been derived. The following two of them are relevant for this aspect of the study, as they concern the development of national-level policies (fields A and C):

- What is the interplay of the international, national and institutional forces in the shaping and establishment of national policies *for internationalisation* of higher education and how does this affect these policies and the higher education system more generally?
- What is the interplay between the international, national and market forces in the shaping of national policies *for internationalisation* of higher education and how does this affect these policies and the higher education system more generally?

This section will address the first part of the questions, while concentrating on the various procedures, mechanisms and actors involved in the development of national policies for internationalisation. The interplay of the various national and international forces in the implementation of internationalisation policies will be discussed in the next section. The second part of the questions, regarding the effects on the higher education system, will be discussed in a next section of this chapter.

First of all it should be noted that most of the countries have developed a formal national policy for the internationalisation of higher education in the second half of the 1980s. Remarkable is the situation of Sweden, where already in the early 1970s a first national policy was set. The fact that most national policies started to be developed in the mid-1980s, gives a first insight into the interplay of international and national forces in the establishment of policies.

The influence of international forces

In general, the anticipation on the European open market (1992), and more specifically the launch of the EU programmes for higher education (1987) have given an impetus to the development of national policies. Besides, international (OECD) reviews signalling that the higher education system was not open and responsive enough to the international environment have

provided a stimulus for policy development in certain countries (e.g. Austria and the Netherlands).

The EC initiatives did not only give a push to policy development at the national level, they also influenced the design and content of such policies. In a first period, national policies were strongly focused on the EC initiatives and national measures were often modelled after the EU programmes. In one of the country reports it was even stated that this was done without considering it necessary to modify and tailor the concept to non-EU-specific forms of collaboration. As has been described above, later on (in the 1990s), the national policies obtained a wider scope and concentrated more on complementary initiatives such as unilateral, bilateral, and regional cooperation while focusing also on regions other than Europe.

Actors at the national level

The influence of institutional forces in the establishment of national policies brings us to the role of the various actors within the country. In general the decision making process is based on consultation with the various actors involved. These may be: individual higher education institutions, associations of higher education institutions or rectors' conferences, relevant ministries, and other societal groups, such as students, employers, teachers unions, etc. In some cases, the consultation has an ad hoc character and temporary committees are set up. In other cases structural advisory bodies exist, in which the higher education institutions are represented individually or by their umbrella organisation. It was reported that as a result of increased international involvement of the institutions, new types of actors at the institutional level have occurred. Virtually all institutions have established international offices with specialised staff. In some countries this group of institutional representatives has its own influence and role in the policy making process, through special committees, that operate parallel to or in dialogue with the other platforms and bodies.

The role of intermediary organisations

In the EU countries concerned in this study, separate, so-called "intermediary organisations" exist: DAAD in Germany, the British Council in the United Kingdom, Nuffic in the Netherlands, Högskoleverket in Sweden, CIMO in Finland, the Danish Rectors' Conference in Denmark, ÖAD in Austria, I.K.Y. in Greece (see chapter 3 to 10).

In general it can be said, that the role of intermediary organisations is more important in the implemention (see below) than in the development of national policies. The role and influence they have in national-level policy development is variable and depends on the following interrelated factors:

- First, whether or not they directly represent the interests and views of the higher education institutions (as is the case in, for instance Denmark, but not in the Netherlands).
- Second, and related to the first point, the type of relationship they have with the national authority, i.e. whether they have been set up by the government (e.g. Sweden, Finland and the United Kingdom), or that they have been founded by the higher education institutions (e.g. Germany, Austria, the Netherlands and Denmark) as an independent foundation, or association, with representatives from the academic community (and sometimes also from the ministries, and from students associations, enterprises and labour market organisations) on their board.
- Third, whether or not it is their formal role to advise the national authorities in their decision making process (as is the case in, for instance, Sweden).
- Fourth, whether or not their tasks are exclusively related to international cooperation in higher education (e.g. in, Germany and the Netherlands, Finland) or to other aspects of higher education as well (e.g. Sweden and Denmark).
- Fifth, whether or not they are exclusively focused on higher education (e.g. Germany, Denmark, Sweden, and the Netherlands) or on other levels of education as well (e.g. Austria, Finland, Greece and the United Kingdom).

In some of the Central and Eastern European countries (e.g. Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria and the Czech Republic), an emerging role of intermediary organisations in the field of international cooperation can be observed. Also here these organisations can be distinguished into different types: the generic rectors' conference-type of organisations, and organisations with specific competencies such as accreditation or funding councils.

Institutional and market forces

The role of institutional and market forces depends on the country's model for the coordination of higher education, which can theoretically vary between full-scale government planning and a complete direction by

institutional and market forces. In general, a trend towards decentralisation and increased institutional autonomy can be observed. This is seen as a way to stimulate institutions to develop their own policies and strategies. As a consequence, funding for international cooperation is in some countries integrated into the overall budget of the institutions (e.g. Denmark) or awarded as a lump-sum, which they can earmark and spend according to their own priorities (e.g. Austria). In some of the countries, market forces are expected to challenge the international performance of higher education institutions. The United Kingdom is the example of a market-driven model, where the role of the government is limited to creating the conditions in which free competition can thrive and where institutions are required to operate like businesses and have a managerialist style of leadership. The Netherlands is starting to stimulate its institutions to become more oriented towards the international market for higher education.

A change in the institutional landscape for internationalisation has been observed in various country reports. It concerns the increasing establishment of executive posititions for international affairs, such as vice-rectors, or vice-presidents, who will be responsible for the development of institution-wide policies for internationalisation. This pattern seems to indicate that internationalisation is increasingly considered as an important field of policy making and as an important dimension in the overall strategic management of the institution. This is, as far as the institutional level is concerned, a promising development towards the integration of internationalisation into the wider institutional policies. The fact that in the context of the SOCRATES programme, institutional contracts, and thus more involvement of the institutional leadership, are required, might also have contributed to this process.

Links with overall higher education policy making

With regard to the disconnection between general higher education policies and policies for internationationalisation, as described in chapter 2, it could be expected that the enhanced decentralisation and institutional autonomy will contribute to filling the gap between the two areas of policy making. Besides some emerging examples of integrating funding for internationalisation into the institutional budget, also examples of linking internationalisation policy development to the overall higher education planning cycle (e.g. the Netherlands), and of linking or integrating

internationalisation into the evaluation and quality assurance system (e.g. the United Kingdom, Finland) can be demonstrated.

That the above described developments are no more than recent trends, or in other words that we are probably facing a transition process, can be illustrated by the, at present somewhat paradoxical, situation in the Netherlands. On the one hand there is a decentralised steering model, a considerable level of institutional autonomy, internationalisation is an integral element of the higher education planning cycle, and the market is expected to play and increasingly important role. On the other hand, separate policy documents on internationalisation demonstrate a fairly detailed description of priority areas and actions, funding is not integrated in the institutional budget, new policy initiatives are not systematically based on policy evaluations (as is usual in the context of the higher education planning cycle) and there is (to some extent) governmental influence in the market orientated activities.

Despite the fact that some of the country reports are critical about a lack of internal consistency in the national policies for internationalisation (Denmark and the Netherlands), the above described developments indicate that in terms of practical disconnection (see chapter 2), the relationship between internationalisation policy and general higher education policy seems to become stronger, especially in countries where linking of internationalisation to measures of funding, planning and evaluation of higher education are being introduced.

Political disconnection (see also chapter 2), may still exist, although it is increasingly being realised that internationalisation does not only affect the external or international aspects of higher education, but is increasingly also concerned with measures pertaining to the higher education system itself, and thus belongs to the competencies of the educational authorities.

Implementation of national policies

The questions presented above, regarding the interplay between international, national, institutional and market forces are relevant in this section in relation to the implementation of the national policies for the internationalisation of higher education. However, as policy implementation is, in comparison to policy development, less oriented on the influence of

the various parties, but rather on their practical roles, here the focus will be placed on the division of labour between the various actors.

The influence of international forces

As far as European aspects of national policies are concerned, the interplay between the international and the national level in the implementation of the policies, is guided by the principle of subsidiarity. As declared in the Treaty of Maastricht, the European Union shall respect the responsibilities of the Member States for the content of teaching and the organisation of educational systems, and their cultural and linguistic diversity. Furthermore, the initiatives at the various levels should be complementary to each other. EU actions are complementary in the way that they aim at improving the quality of education through cooperation between the Member States, in particular through multi-lateral cooperation. National-level initiatives are complementary to this in that they stimulate other forms of unilateral, bilateral or regional cooperation, also targeted at other regions. Special examples of complementary measures concern the ERASMUS top-up scholarships, which are in some countries funded by the national authorities.

The overall responsibility for the implementation of national policies lies with the national authorities. Usually this is the ministry of education, but sometimes it is a shared responsibility between various ministries.

Germany is a particular case in this respect, as here the federal government is competent for foreign affairs and external relations and the governments of the Länder are responsible for education and culture. Consequently a close cooperation between the two levels is required. The Länder have certain responsibilities related to European affairs, which they exercise via the Upper House and which are based on the art 23 of the Basic Law and on the agreement between the federal government and the governments of the Länder. With regard to the national policy, most actions are initiated by the federal government, which is also the most important provider of funds for internationalisation. Additionally, some of the Länder have established their own bilateral initiatives or have established a special regional emphasis in their cooperation with other countries.

Also in Austria, the individual federal provinces act as promotors or sponsors of internationalisation, although the dimension of the funding for these

"provincial programmes" is exceptionally modest in comparison to federal funding.

Actors at the national level

Of course, the German report is quite correct in stating that the most important actors in internationalisation are the students and the teachers. They play a key role in the implementation of the internationalisation policies in the various countries. Their international activities, however, usually require a support system that largely exceeds the typical range of services an institution is able to offer and also the regular provisions of the higher education system more generally. Consequently, in all the countries, a specific system for the implementation of internationalisation policies has been established. In general, three levels can be distinguished.

First, at the level of the individual higher education institutions, special officers for international affairs have been nominated. Their various responsibilities, which were initially often limited to foreign student advising and admission, are now extended to international relations management, administration of exchange programmes, international cooperation in research, information management, policy development, etc. Moreover, professionalisation has taken place, and the various services have been brought together in special units. Such "international offices" can at present be found in virtually all institutions of the countries concerned in this study, although they may vary with regard to their size (number of staff) and the set of responsibilities they have. The international offices are highly effective in supporting the implementation of the internationalisation at the institutional level. In that context, the gathering and dissemination of information on national and European schemes, programmes and policies represents an important task for them. To that end, they maintain in general very direct relations with the intermediary organisation in their country, which is responsible for international cooperation in higher education.

The role of intermediary organisations

At the second level, the intermediary organisations, functioning as national agencies for international cooperation and exchange in higher education play a major role. As has been stated before, their role in the implementation of national policies is in general more important than in the development of

such policies. Their main tasks can be distinguished as follows: dissemination of information (e.g. on study abroad and on opportunities for funding, on the country's own higher education system, etc.), administration of scholarship and exchange schemes (a.o. EU programmes), of unilateral, bilateral and regional programmes for cooperation and exchange, and of cultural agreements. In some cases these tasks are combined with responsibilities for credential evaluation. In many cases, the administration of EU and of national programmes is organised in separate departments or units. Special units may also exist for credential evaluation and cooperation with developing countries. Some of the agencies have branch offices, either within the country (i.e. ÖAD), or abroad (e.g. DAAD and British Council). The agencies vary largely with regard to their size and age, as is demonstrated in the matrix below.

*Matrix 3: Age and size of the national agencies for international cooperation and exchange**

	Austrian Academic Exchange Service (OAD)	Danish Rectors' Conference	Centre for International Mobility (Finland)	German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD)	Greek State Scholarships Foundation (IKY)	The National Agency for Higher Education (HsV in Sweden)	Netherlands Organisation for International Co-operation in Higher Education (Nuffic)	British Council
Established in	1961	1991	1991	1925 refounded in 1950		1995 predecessors founded in 1976 and 1992	1952	1936
Number of staff (in FTE)	220	11	62	420	40	100	175	5,000

* Limited to those involved in the present study and who are members of the Academic Cooperation Association
Source: ACA Directory, 1995

The major role of the national agencies in the implementation of internationalisation policies, is connected to their intermediary position in between the higher education institutions and the national government. They award the funds, that have been granted to them by the governments, to individual institutions, academics and students, that apply for financial support. Furthermore, they provide an important channelling of information from and to the institutions and the (supra)national authorities.

The third level of actors at the national level concerns the ministeries responsible for the national policies for internationalisation of higher education. Their main task concerns the setting of policies and the provision of funding for implementation. Besides, they have a final responsibility for the effectiveness of the policies and are usually accountable towards parliament. Also at the ministries, special officers for international affairs have been appointed over the years. They may be organised in special international divisions, or be integrated into the departments of the ministries responsible for the various levels and aspects of the educational system.

Exceptions to this three-level system can be found in countries where no separate intermediary organisation exist and where these tasks are performed by the ministry itself. Such countries are not included in the sample for this study.

Germany also represents an exception, as here four levels can be distinguished. The Länder (see above) have their specific responsibilities in the internationalisation of higher education. As for implementation, this means in practice that they grant funding for the specific programmes they support to the national agency, which further awards it to individual applicants and institutions.

In some of the Central and Eastern European countries, the situation is comparable to the three-level system. National Tempus Offices and National CEEPUS Offices perform an intermediary role in the implementation of policies, although their status may vary considerably. In other countries, however, the Tempus tasks are carried out by the ministry for education itself.

The role of networking

Besides the effective interplay between the various actors at the national level, and, in the case of EU matters, between the supra-national and the national level, the implementation of internationalisation policies is strongly based on and supported by the international networking of the various actors involved. International networks of students, of individual academics, of internationalisation officers, and of institutions create important conditions for the effective implementation of the internationalisation policies. The networking between intermediary organisations has been reinforced by the

creation of the Academic Cooperation Association (ACA) in 1993. This Brussels-based organisation facilitates the exchange of experiences and information between the member organisations and supports their joint efforts in the field of programme management, the development of specific expertise, and the evaluation and quality assurance of internationalisation policies and actions. The international contacts between ministerial officers for internationalisation is of a more occasional nature.

Instruments for policy implementation

Our concern with the link between policies for internationalisation and those for higher education in general, requires a closer look at the instruments for policy implementation. In general it can be said that the implementation of internationalisation is closely linked to the provision of financial means and that special programmes and priorities play the role of steering instruments. The funding programmes on which the implementation of internationalisation is based, are mainly individually oriented. An estimated 50% - 75% of funds available for internationalisation is being spent on scholarships and grants for individual students, trainees, teachers, scholars, etc. A general pattern is that the applications for financial support largely exceed the available funding. The Central and Eastern European countries represent an exception in this respect. Here programmes are predominantly institutionally oriented.

Above, a trend towards more comprehensive and more institutionally oriented policies has been described. At present, this tendency is only to some extent followed by appropriate funding measures. Despite the fact that the policies may become more institutionally oriented, comprehensive and more coherently planned, funding for internationalisation is often still individually oriented and fragmented. As far as institutional funding is concerned, the periods of funding are usually different from that of main stream funding and obligations with regard to reporting, evaluation and accountability are different as well. At the institutional level this hinders the development of institutional strategies for internationalisation and it complicates the integration of internationalisation into the wider institutional strategies. Exceptions to this situation are found in countries, where the budgets for internationalisation are integrated into the overall institutional budget, or are granted as a lump-sum. A different approach can also be found in Germany, where the need for a more substantial increase and flexible use

of funding has been acknowledged by special programmes, which were jointly launched by the federal government and the Länder. In these programmes, substantial funds with relatively broad designations were awarded directly to the higher institutions.

A particularly interesting example with regard to the use of funding as a policy instrument in internationalisation is provided by Finland. Here internationalisation is one criteria for allocating "performance funds" (5% of the overall budget) to universities. Target numbers for student and teacher exchange also play a role in the yearly budget negotiation between the institutions and the ministry. As a result, some institutions have included internationalisation as a criteria in their own internal rewarding procedures. The risk that the drive to produce impressive mobility figures at any cost may negatively influence other activities is being perceived as a danger in this approach.

Besides differences in funding principles and in steering instruments, the implementation of internationalisation is also supported by a completely different group of actors. Special officers, units, offices, departments and organisations are found in all countries. As described above, they maintain intense and effective cooperation and communication with each other at both the national and the international level. However, their contacts with the other actors active in higher education policy, may be weaker. At the institutional level, contacts with officers from departments for financial affairs, human resources, educational planning (curriculum development), or quality assurance are not always very frequent or structural. The increasing involvement of executive officers in the institutions may help at that level to link internationalisation to the other fields of institutional management. At the national level, the same pattern is often reflected in the division of labour between various specialised organisations, including the national agencies for international cooperation and exchange.

Solutions to the problems that this situation may cause are in some countries found in the establishment of platforms that facilitate the communication between the various agencies and organisations. A more structural integration of tasks is found in countries where the implementation of internationalisation policies is combined with an involvement in the implementation of the country's overall policy for higher education, such as in Denmark and Sweden. In the latter case, it is explicitly stated that the

international aspect is integrated into all the various tasks of the organisation (e.g. quality assurance, training of university management, innovation of undergraduate education, etc.). On the other hand, however, the country's structure for the implementation of internationalisation policies reflects an impressive number of different organisations, which holds the potential of a different form of fragmentation.

Summarising the above, it can be stated that the implementation of internationalisation policies is characterised by very specific dynamics, instruments and actors. Consequently it can be said that the implementation of national policies for internationalisation of higher education demonstrates more practical disconnection with general higher education policies, than is the case in policy development.

Effects on the higher education system

In this section, we will further discuss the questions, which were derived from the new model for the coordination of higher education in an international context and which were introduced in chapter two. They regard the interplay of international, national, institutional and market forces in the shaping of national policies for higher education (fields A and C) and the effect that these policies have on the higher education system. Here the emphasis will be put on the second part of the question, regarding the effects of the internationalisation policies on the higher education system.

Effects of policies are in general difficult to attribute to the specific policy in question, as is it difficult to separate the influence of a certain policy from that of other policies or from contextual developments more generally. In the case of internationalisation policy, it is in many cases impossible to distinguish between effects of European, national and institutional policies. Moreover these various policies are indeed inter-related. Therefore the question provided in the guidelines for this study (see chapter 1) focused on the effects that can be attributed to the internationalisation process as a whole between 1985 and 2000. But then again, it should be borne in mind that internationalisation policies cannot be isolated from the broader developments in higher education during the same period and we should thus be conscious of the fact that other policies might have influenced certain effects as well. Furthermore, it should be noted that information on the various effects, as

has been provided in the country reports, partly concerns empirically based facts and partly effects as perceived by certain actors (see chapters 3-10).

In general, and as can be expected from policies that have always strongly focused on individual mobility, the main effect of the internationalisation process can be discerned in an increased international mobility of students, teachers and researchers. Related to that, numerous international contacts and networks have been established. Besides this, and directly or indirectly related to this increased mobility and cooperation, a range of other effects can be determined. These will be described below.

It should be noted that the extent to which a certain effect has occurred in the different countries may vary considerably, as has been shown in the separate country chapters. In general, it seems that in smaller countries relatively greater effects (in terms of changes at the system level) can be observed. Two larger countries therefore need to be discussed separately here.

Firstly the United Kingdom as a country that deviates strongly from the other countries, as here effects are exclusively seen at the institutional level, where teams or offices dedicated to the international promotion, recruitment, contract negotiation, advertising, fund raising and alumni relations, as well as welfare support have been established.

Secondly, Germany, where it was also said that the effects were so far limited to the institutional level, and were especially seen as the result of participation in EU programmes in the field of education, research and development. At the system level no influence could be recognised. Changes at the system level are expected to occur in the very near future, however, as will be indicated below.

In Central and Eastern Europe the various reforms in higher education cannot be attributed to internationalisation policies in particular, but are rather the result of more general reform measures.

Changes in regulation and legislation

The most important effects at the system level that result from international developments concern changes in regulation and legislation on higher education, which have been implemented in the various, especially the

smaller, countries. These changes concern the recognition of foreign credentials, the possibility of teaching in other languages, the country's system for academic degrees, fee policies, or transferability of students grants. More generally, it can be said that these changes have increased the institutional autonomy and the freedom to develop international programmes.

Various examples were provided on changes in degree systems as a result of the need to achieve more international comparability.

Academic recognition systems and degree structures

Important results can be discerned in the area of recognition of foreign study periods, of internships executed abroad and of foreign credentials. All countries are involved in the UNESCO and Council of Europe Conventions and in bilateral agreements on equivalencies. Many are in the process of implementing the ECTS scheme in the context of SOCRATES. Furthermore, COMETT based modalities for recognition of internships and a revision of regulations regarding the employment of foreign students as trainees have been introduced. Full recognition is also realised in the context of NORD-PLUS.

In many cases, changes in higher education legislation (see above) enabled the recognition of academic work performed abroad. Furthermore, in various countries the new acts introduced the possibility to award bachelors and masters degrees, and provided the institutions with the freedom to establish international programmes. A particular situation exists in the Netherlands, where the *hogescholen*, which are, according to national legislation, not authorised to award masters degrees, found a way to do so in cooperation with British institutions. Germany is at present extending the possibilities to also award internationally used degrees (bachelors and masters) and searches for a terminological unification in awarded certificates and degrees in order to increase the attractiveness of German higher education.

Transferability of student grants

New laws and regulations (see above) provided in various countries the possibility to transfer student grants to other countries. The period and the

range of countries or institutions to which the grants can be transferred varies between the countries.

The institutional level

Besides the increased numbers of mobile students and staff, many other effects at institutional level can be ascertained. In the first place the infrastructure for internationalisation, including special international offices, student services, housing etc., which has been established in virtually all western European institutions. Related to this, a range of new positions (e.g. international relations officers) has been created in most of the institutions. Secondly, an increasingly wider range of activities is being undertaken or planned in the area of internationalisation. This is clearly demonstrated by the statement of 75% of the German institutions which declare that they do not see their participation in the framework of SOCRATES merely in the sense of supporting physical mobility but that they also want to integrate elements of the European dimension as regular features of teaching and studying. Thirdly, an increased institutional autonomy and freedom of institutions to make their own strategies for internationalisation and to develop international programmes can be observed. The more strategic approach coincides with the introduction of the SOCRATES institutional contract. Related to these developments, an increasing involvement of executive level management is noted. It should be stated here, however, that the institutional dimension of internationalisation is in a starting phase only and is by some countries judged as being still very weak. Notably Denmark and Finland reported on the add-on and ad hoc character that internationalisation still has in many of the institutions.

The non-university sector existing in some of the countries should be mentioned in particular. Here a particularly strong process of internationalisation has taken place. As this sector had no strong tradition in international cooperation as opposed to the universities, huge efforts have been made to upgrade their international profile. Germany even reports that the *Fachhochschulen* have progressed further than universities in this respect. In particular in the areas of internationalisation of curricula, including double degree programmes and in integrated study abroad, important effects have been achieved in this sector.

Internationalised curricula

Effects have also been achieved in the area of internationalising the contents of study programmes and in the development of joint curricula, awarded with, in some cases, joint or double degrees. However, and as has already been said, the internationalisation of curricula, which forms at present a priority area in the policies of almost all countries, has so far been one of the less developed areas of internationalisation. This has been demonstrated by the proportion of budgets allocated to this type of activity, as well as by the number of projects undertaken in this area. Furthermore, it was stated that internationalisation of curricula is a lengthy and complex process, which is in many cases still in an experimental state. Germany recently launched a new offensive to internationalise curricula in order to increase the attractiveness of German higher education.

Languages

Country reports describe in various degrees the increase and innovation in the teaching of modern languages, especially in the so-called lesser-used languages. The range of languages varies to some extent between the different countries. Furthermore, an increased use of non-national languages as a medium of instruction was frequently reported. In the smaller EU countries, where lesser-used languages are spoken, this has in the first instance been introduced as a solution to the problem of unbalanced flows of incoming and outgoing exchange students in the framework of EU programmes. Teaching in English has improved the access of foreign students to courses. Gradually, domestic students are also participating in these courses and increasingly teaching in foreign languages (usually English) is considered as an element of internationally oriented professional training. In Germany a greater number of programmes is planned to be taught in English in order to increase the attractiveness of German higher education.

In many countries changes in higher education legislation have been necessary to provide more opportunities for teaching in a language other than the country's mother tongue (see above).

Open and distance learning and the role of new technologies

The effects in the area of open and distance learning result in general from the involvement of institutions in EU programmes or from initiatives taken at the European level. Cooperation of institutions in the context of the European Association of Distance Teaching Universities (EADTU) should be mentioned here in particular. Finland reports on an explosive development of "centres for extension studies", although these seem to be focused in particular on the domestic market. The use of new technologies in the transnational cooperation in and delivery of higher education has not yet been observed in most of the country reports. Austria, however, expects the impact of new technologies to provide innovative impulses. In the United Kingdom, where important developments in this area are taking place, a national committee will investigate ways by which higher education as a major international business can be further developed by means of information and communication technology.

From quantity to quality

Interesting retrospective comments on the process of internationalisation were related in various countries to a shift from a quantitative to a more qualitative approach. Whereas in the first period concerns concentrated on quantitative aspects (to send out and receive as many students as possible), now more emphasis is put on qualitative aspects of internationalisation. Quality assurance or evaluation of internationalisation, however, has in most of the countries not yet clearly been established or institutionalised. Exceptions are noted in Finland, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom, where quality assurance initiatives are underway (see also chapter 2).

International forces and national level policies

As a last aspect of this study, we were interested to learn about how national policy affects or is affected by international and multilateral initiatives. This again, in the context of the questions that were derived from the new model for the coordination of higher education in an international context. It should be made explicit that here the inquiry is not limited to the country's policy for internationalisation of higher education, but more widely investigates what changes in national policies for higher education occur as a result from international impulses.

In the previous sections of this chapter, various examples of influence from the international level on the national level have been provided. In general, the European initiatives in higher education have affected the national policies in all countries in question, to the extent that they all decided to participate as a country and that they encouraged their institutions to cooperate in these programmes. The extent to which the countries actually enabled the higher education sector to internationalise, by making the necessary changes in national legislation and regulation for higher education, has been recognised especially by the smaller countries. In the case of the United Kingdom, these changes either have not been necessary, or belong to the autonomy of the higher education institutions. In the case of Germany, it was acknowledged that the national political system and competencies for higher education have made the implementation of reforms particularly complex and difficult. It is now, in the light of the decreased attractiveness of German higher education for foreign students, considered inevitable to make the necessary changes, i.e. to increase institutional autonomy as well as the flexibility and openness of the system.

The latter example demonstrates that, besides the influence of international policies (e.g. European policies and programmes, international conventions, etc.), other international factors also influence the national policies for higher education. In terms of the new model for the coordination of higher education in an international context (see chapter 2), this factor is represented as the international market (field C). The influence of this factor is demonstrated to some extent in all countries, which orient their policies on the situation of international labour markets and international trade relations with certain specific regions or countries. The influence of international market factors is especially demonstrated by those countries that expect direct economic benefits from internationalising the higher education system.

Finally, a third mechanism of influence of the international on the national level can be distinguished. Countries carefully observe the developments in higher education in other countries and these observations, or direct inquiries, form more and more often an input into the process of developing national policies. In this way the following examples of the influence of the international environment on the national higher education policy were mentioned: the development of the polytechnic sector (Austria and Finland), and the tendency towards decentralisation and innovations in quality assurance systems (Sweden).

As described above, national policies are affected by various international forces. International policies (e.g. European policies for higher education) are only one of these forces. In addition, international market forces play a role, as well as other countries that serve as a model for certain aspects of higher education policy making. On the basis of this study, the relative strength of the various forces cannot be assessed. The example of Germany, however, is extremely interesting in this respect. The country report states that: "National policy actors try to limit the dynamics inherent in European higher education policy (by pointing emphatically at the principle of subsidiarity) to such an extent that the "policy entepreneurialism" of the EC infringes upon grown national structures and traditions as little as possible". However, with the aim to enhance the international competitiveness and attractiveness of German higher education, i.e. to attract more foreign students from important economic regions such as south-east Asia, now a number of structural changes are being considered.

This does not only demonstrate that certain tensions may exist between international and national policies, but also that international market forces may in certain cases very well be more important than international policies. Or in other words, the influence of international policies on national policies, which may create tensions, is being recognised (the German report even states that this influence is stronger than vice versa). However, it is not so much that the international (e.g. European) policy directly influences the national policy. Rather, it seems that the independent perception by a certain country of the international situation (and market) and its position in it, leads to considerations and initiatives for national policies. As the present study only provides some impressions with regard to this issue, however, generalisation is not possible. Further research would be required in order to really assess the influence of the various aspects of the international context (i.e. international policies, international market forces, and initiatives and models of other countries) on national level policy making.

Conclusions and Discussion

Torsten Kälvemark and Marijk van der Wende

This chapter will summarise the main findings of the international comparative study on national policies for internationalisation of higher education. This will be done along the lines of the central research questions of this study. The findings and conclusions will be linked back to the theoretical framework of the study, as presented in chapter two. Furthermore, the findings will be discussed with a view to opportunities and directions for future policy development.

Conclusions

1. Rationales for internationalisation policies: the growing importance of economic motives

Historical and geopolitical variables have strongly influenced the fundamental motivation of the national policies for internationalisation of higher education. In general, the anticipation on the European open market (1992), and more specifically the launch of the EU programmes for higher education (1987) have given an impetus to the development of national policies in the mid 1980s. Worth taking note is the situation of Sweden, where an initial national policy was established as early as the beginning of the 1970s.

In the post Cold War period with its new stability and peace, the economic rationale of international competitiveness is becoming increasingly important, although an important diversity between countries exists in this respect. In some cases internationalisation of higher education is part of a strategy for immediate economic reforms, in others it is focused on indirect or long-term economic benefits, on direct economic effects, or is related to avoiding temporary investments in educational infrastructure.

The educational rationale which considers international co-operation as indispensable for maintaining the quality of higher education and research is still supported by most countries, although there is a large variation in degree. Besides, other goals, such as solidarity in relation to developing

countries, humanitarian and peace-keeping related aims are a factor of importance in certain countries, such as Sweden and Finland.

2. Priorities in internationalisation policies: towards a wider geographical scope and more comprehensive strategies

For all countries, multilateral co-operation with other countries of the European Union represents an important element of their national policies. Besides this, various forms of regional and bilateral co-operation play an important role as well. A clear trend in the various countries concerns the shift towards wider international co-operation. After a period of intensive, and in some cases almost exclusive, concentration on multi-lateral co-operation within the EU, now many countries are looking (again) beyond this region. Rhey focus in particular on economically dynamic countries in south-east Asia and, to a certain extent, also in Latin America.

In general, it has been concluded that national policies for internationalisation are still predominantly, although not exclusively, based on the traditional instruments of mobility of students (with a quantitative emphasis on undergraduates) and faculty. At present a shift can be observed from the individual to the institutional level. The national policies include an increasingly wider range of activities and focus more strongly on the curriculum, on the institutional organisation and management and on the structure of the higher education system as such.

In CEE countries the emphasis is placed on the institutional level. Related to this, curriculum development receives far more attention here than is the case in EU countries. But as in EU countries the institutional and curriculum levels are also becoming more important (also in relation to the new SOCRATES approach), this could imply that once the CEE countries get involved in this programme, the differences in focus between EU and CEE countries may diminish.

The recruitment of foreign students has clearly become a priority in the policies of some countries. Almost all countries still lack a view on the role of information and communication technology.

3. Decreasing conceptual disconnection between internationalisation policies and general higher education policy

The development towards more comprehensive policies can be considered as positive in the view of sustainable change in education. Moreover, the

initially very narrow definition of internationalisation in terms of international academic mobility is now being widened. This contributes to diminishing the conceptual disconnection between internationalisation and higher education policy in general. Also in practical terms, the more comprehensive and multi-layer strategies can be expected to create better conditions towards a narrowing of the gap between the two areas of policy making.

4. Development of internationalisation policies: enhanced influence of institutional and market forces

In general the decision making process is based on consultation with the various actors involved. These may be individual higher education institutions, associations of higher education institutions or rectors' conferences, relevant ministries, intermediary organisations and other societal groups, such as students, employers, teachers unions, etc.

The role of institutional and market forces depends on the country's model for the co-ordination of higher education, and can vary between full-scale government planning and a complete direction by institutional and market forces. In general, a trend towards decentralisation and increased institutional autonomy can be observed. In some cases funding is consequently being integrated into the institutional budget or is being awarded as a lump-sum. More extreme examples of completely market-driven models, where the role of the national authorities is limited to creating conditions, have also been represented by the study.

5. Implementation of internationalisation policies: specific dynamics, instruments and actors

As far as European aspects of national policies are concerned. the interplay between the international and the national level in the implementation of the policies, is guided by the principle of subsidiarity. The overall responsibility for the implementation of national policies lies with the national authorities.

In all countries, a specific system for the implementation of internationalisation policies has been established. In general, three levels can be distinguished. First, at the level of the individual higher education institutions, special officers for international affairs have been nominated. At the second level, the intermediary organisations, functioning as national agencies for international co-operation and exchange in higher education, play a major role. The third level of actors at the national level concerns the ministries responsible for the national policies for internationalisation of higher education.

Besides the effective interplay between the various actors at the national level, and, in the case of EU matters, between the supra-national and the national level, the implementation of internationalisation policies is strongly based on and supported by the international networking of the various actors involved.

6. Practical disconnection between internationalisation policies and general higher education policy: the difference between policy development and implementation

Despite the fact that the policies may in their conceptual approach and their design become more institutionally oriented, comprehensive and more coherently planned, funding for internationalisation is often still individually oriented and fragmented. Furthermore, measures for evaluation and quality assurance of internationalisation are generally still lacking. Besides differences in funding principles and in steering instruments, the implementation of internationalisation is also supported by a completely different group of actors.

As the implementation of internationalisation policies is characterised by very specific dynamics, instruments and actors, it can be said that the implementation of national policies for internationalisation of higher education demonstrates more practical disconnection with general higher education policies, than is the case in policy development.

At the institutional level this may hinder the development of institutional strategies for internationalisation and it complicates the integration of internationalisation into the wider institutional strategies. More effective linking at national policy level will create better conditions for demarginalising or integrating internationalisation at the institutional level. The increasing involvement of executive officers in the institutions may help at that level to link internationalisation to the other fields of institutional management.

7. Political disconnection between internationalisation policies and general higher education policy: integration or new divergence?

Political disconnection may still exist, although it is increasingly being realised that internationalisation not only affects the external or international aspects of higher education, but is increasingly also concerned with measures pertaining to the higher education system itself, and thus belongs to the competencies of the educational authorities.

An increasingly stronger economic perspective may, however, lead to new, different political divergence or disconnection.

8. Effects of internationalisation policies: the system and the institutional level

The first and most important effect which can be attributed to the internationalisation process as a whole between 1985 and 2000, concerns the increased international mobility of students, teachers and researchers. Related to that, numerous international contacts and networks have been established.

The most important effects at the system level that result from international developments concern changes in regulation and legislation on higher education. These changes concern the recognition of foreign credentials, the possibility of teaching in other languages, the country's system for academic degrees, fee policies, or transferability of students grants. More generally, it can be said that these changes have increased the institutional autonomy and the freedom to develop international programmes. In general, it seems that in smaller countries relatively more effects in terms of changes at the system level can be observed.

Effects at the institutional level concern the establishment of an infrastructure for internationalisation and the creation of a range of new positions. Furthermore, an increasingly wider range of activities is being undertaken or planned in the area of internationalisation, an increased institutional autonomy and freedom of institutions to make their own strategies for internationalisation and to develop international programmes can be observed, and an increasing involvement of executive level management is noted. However, it should be said that the institutional dimension of internationalisation is in a starting phase only and is by some countries judged as being still very weak.

Internationalised curricula, an increase and innovation in the teaching of modern languages, especially in the so-called lesser-used languages, and an increased use of non-national languages as a medium of instruction are other effects noted at the institutional level. The use of new technologies in the transnational co-operation in and delivery of higher education has not yet been observed in most of the countries.

A shift from a quantitative to a more qualitative approach has been reported. In the first period concerns concentrated on quantitative aspects (to send out and receive as many students as possible), now more emphasis is put on qualitative aspects of internationalisation. Quality assurance or evaluation of internationalisation, however, has not yet been clearly established or institutionalised in most of the countries.

9. The interplay between the international and the national level: tensions, markets and models

The study has indicated that national policies are affected by various international forces. International policies (e.g. European policies for higher education) are only one of these forces. In addition, international market forces play a role. The influence of this factor is demonstrated to some extent in all countries, which orientate their policies on the situation of international labour markets and international trade relations with certain specific regions or countries. The influence of international market factors is especially demonstrated by those countries that expect direct economic benefits from internationalising the higher education system. A third mechanism of influence of the international level on the national level concerns the fact that countries carefully observe the developments in higher education in other countries and that these observations, or direct inquiries, form more and more often an input into the process of developing new national policies for higher education.

It was signalled that certain tensions may exist between international and national policies, but also that international market forces may in certain cases very well be more important than international policies. Furthermore, it is not so much the direct influence of international policies, but rather, the independent perception by a certain country of the international situation (and market) and its position in it, that leads to considerations and initiatives for national policies. It should be noted that the present study only provides some impressions with regard to this issue.

10. Feed back on the new model for the co-ordination of higher education in an international context

The interplay between international and national forces in the development and implementation of internationalisation policies has been demonstrated throughout the present study. As far as the interplay between the European and the national initiatives is concerned, a fair amount of convergence can be observed. Policies at both levels focus increasingly on institutional level

issues, such as curriculum, organisation and institutional strategies. Divergence, or complementarity, is observed in the following areas. European policies seem to be more innovative than national policies with respect to open and distance learning (ODL), the use of information and communication technology (ICT) and co-operation in the field of innovation and quality improvement in certain subject areas (e.g. SOCRATES thematic networks). National policies are more innovative than European policies in that they take a wider geographical scope and apply a wider range of co-operation models and strategies.

The interplay between international, national, market and institutional forces has been demonstrated, and led to the conclusion that international market forces and enhanced institutional autonomy play an increasingly important role in the formulation of internationalisation policies and in the directions that higher education policies might take more generally.

The effects of the internationalisation policies and of the international context more generally have been demonstrated, both at the level of the national higher education system and on the level of the individual higher education institutions.

The above formulated conclusions seem to justify the development of the new model for the co-ordination of higher education in an international context. For it is only in this expanded model that allowed integration and analyses of the policies for the internationalisation of higher education. Secondly, the model has enabled us to analyse the interplay between international and national forces, as well as the effect of the international context on the higher education system of a given country. These effects have not only been demonstrated at the level of individual institutions, but also on the level of the higher education system as such, and even on the related areas of regulation and legislation.

The model also justifies further research, which will be required for further testing, improvement and refinement of the model. Furthermore, it demonstrates that higher education policy can no longer be viewed in an exclusively national, or at best internationally comparative, perspective. In understanding the higher education policy of any country, and in particular its new directions and future orientations, the international context should be taken into account systematically. The newly developed model for the co-ordination of higher education in an international context will hopefully be helpful for that purpose.

Discussion

1. Limitations to the generalisation of findings

A first point of reflection on the present study concerns the fact that the findings cannot be easily generalised to countries that are not included in the sample of countries taken for this research project. A general consideration of the policies of a wider range of countries makes us realise that already within the European context, there is more diversity than the study seems to suggest. This can be clearly illustrated by the case of France, where the rationales for internationalisation policies could be described as more culturally oriented, with a stronger emphasis on the role of teaching (in) the country's own language, than has been indicated in the present study. Moreover, the economic rationale does not seem to be as present here as in some of the countries discussed in this study. Also in some of the southern European countries, the cultural rationale and issues of language teaching and learning would be considered differently than was generally the case in the countries included in the sample. Furthermore, differences seem to exist with regard to the degree of decentralisation and institutional autonomy. Belgium should also be mentioned as a special case. First of all, because here no single national policy exists, and secondly because cultural and language issues already play a role within the country itself. The weak capacity of the findings for generalisation to the European context obviously has implications for policies to be developed at the European level.

Putting the findings in an even broader international perspective draws the attention to the USA, which represents a different picture in many respects. In particular the interplay of actors at the national level demonstrates different dynamics, with a much stronger role by private actors, both among higher education institutions as well as among funding agencies and bodies. Furthermore, political disconnection might be more important here than in the countries treated in the study. As far as a governmental policy can be discerned in the USA (most initiatives concern competitive grant programmes for institutions and individuals), it is usually presented in terms of foreign or rather as "national security" policy.

Finally, the Australian case differs to some extent from the findings of this study. A strong economic rationale and a high degree of institutional autonomy can be noted here. However, the consideration of cultural and language issues seems to differ considerably from the European setting. Moreover, the instruments for the implementation of internationalisation

267

policies seem to be quite specific (e.g. off-shore sites), although various similarities with UK strategies can be determined in this area.

2. Governmental steering in a decentralised context

In many countries decentralisation has been at the forefront of policies for higher education over the last years. Institutional autonomy has been stressed at the cost of national objectives with regard to planning of research or teaching. Everybody seems to agree that this has been a positive development which increases the responsiveness of universities and colleges to various challenges from outside the system, including the international environment. However, this brings to the fore an important question: how can governments effectively stimulate priorities which emerge from the national agenda, when they no longer can (or indeed want to) directly control the process at the level of setting up study programmes or curricula.

A concrete example could illustrate the matter discussed here. In many countries relations with the nations of the former Eastern bloc are at the top of the agenda when it comes to foreign and/or international trade policy. There is an obvious need for more cultural and linguistic competence as a means of enhancing these relations on the political as well as the economic level. In the best of worlds, universities would react very swiftly to demands of this type. In reality, however, the structure of European university systems and the limited resources of some of the smaller countries would normally require some form of dialogue between national and institutional policy-making.

A way out of this dilemma could be for players on the national level to combine selective and temporary funding with tendering-type procedures, or through mechanisms such as integrating certain topics into framework contracts between governments and institutions. This would challenge and stimulate institutions to formulate broad and comprehensive programmes for research and studies in areas of national importance. Instead of just allocating money on a kind of ad hoc-basis depending on the initiatives of individual scholars or teachers, this could help in creating a wider group of people and departments to work together, thus creating very positive synergy effects.

3. Tensions between economic, educational and cultural objectives

It has been concluded that the political disconnection between internationalisation policies and general policies for higher education has

decreased, since in the countries in question internationalisation is no longer viewed as parts of foreign affairs, but rather as an educational policy area. At the same time, an increasingly strong economic rationale has been recognised in several of the countries. It could be questioned whether the latter trend creates a new risk for political disconnection or divergence of policy areas and interests at least. If internationalisation is going to be formulated purely in terms of export and tradable services, one might fear a tension between a benefit and profit orientation on the one hand, and educational and cultural quality assets and requirements on the other hand. Experiences of strongly economically oriented policies, of countries in Europe and beyond, may serve as interesting examples in this respect.

4. Strengthening the coherence within national policies for internationalisation

There is obviously room for more coherence at the national level in most countries when it comes to internationalising higher education. It is, of course, a classic problem in the theory of government that the division of labour between ministries and departments tend to fragmentise and weaken overriding policies. The impact of development support policies on other fields is a good illustration of this problem. Whereas one branch of government advocates close co-operation with developing countries, also in the sphere of research and education, another branch may pay only lip service to this. Substantial amounts of money are spent in most of the EU countries on support for education and research in Third World countries but the actual co-operation is often handled by individual university departments and there is seldom an institutional commitment.

A real internationalisation of universities should reflect the wider international policies of a country. Academic traditions and priorities with regard to international co-operation are legitimate but they can also prevent academics from discovering unexpected opportunities.

Also in the field of European co-operation there seem to be reasons for more coherent policies on the national level. While one of the prime ideas of the European Union is to create conditions for mobility of persons and a common labour market, the idea of a common educational "market" has yet to materialise. The transferability of student grants and loans could be an important step in this direction. Some countries already allow this while others have more limited rights for students to take up state supported

269

studies in other member countries of the Union. Although such a policy would create problems for educational planing in some countries it is still worth taking into account in future developments.

5. Revision and improvement of policy instruments for internationalisation

At the national policy level, the policy instruments for internationalisation should be reconsidered in the context of up-to-date models for governmental steering and co-ordination of higher education. As for planning, greater coherence and co-ordination should be sought between the various schemes and programmes that are in place for internationalisation. Often the measures stem from different periods, are numerous and quite different in size and functioning. Secondly, and as has been proposed before, the planning of internationalisation could be brought better in line with the planning of higher education policy more generally. In terms of funding, fragmentation (which is related to the previous point) should be diminished. Furthermore, it is recommended that a better differentiation will be made between individually-oriented and institutionally-oriented funding, in order to avoid institutional initiatives (which have a longer preparation period) having to compete against individual initiatives within one and the same programme or scheme. As far as regulation is concerned, countries are encouraged to continue to make the necessary adjustments and changes in regulation and legislation which enable individuals and institutions to be actually internationally active and operational. Moreover, this is not limited to the higher education area. Here coherence in policies should be ensured with foreign affairs, internal affairs, migrant policies, etc. Finally, quality assurance is another field where coherence in national policies seem to be lacking. Even where the internationalisation of higher education has been set as a national goal there are few mechanisms in place to evaluate the performance of universities and colleges in this field. One reason is a lack of criteria for evaluation. This is, however, a problem that might be solved through increased international co-operation. Valuable examples of good practice and useful instruments have been developed in, for instance, Finland and the Netherlands. An important effort in this area is currently being undertaken by ACA in co-operation with the OECD/IMHE programme: the Internationalisation Quality Review Process (IQRP).

The revision and improvement of policy instruments, as well as an enhanced coherence between internationalisation and general higher education policies

will not only improve transparency in internationalisation policies and funding mechanisms, it will also create better conditions for the demarginalisation and integration of internationalisation into the work, the strategies and policies at the institutional level.

6. More focus on financial and human resources for internationalised curricula

An increase and emphasis on work at the level of curricula has been detected in the present study. It is also known that internationalisation of curricula concerns lengthy and complex processes. Secondly, it is also known that funding for this type of projects in generally part of larger schemes and programmes that also include elements of individual mobility. As the mobility elements (especially student mobility) are usually more directly and more strongly demand driven, often too small a proportion of available budgets is left for curriculum development. In line with the above presented suggestion to better differentiate between individually and institutionally oriented programmes and funding, it is proposed that specific and more substantial measures for the stimulation and support of work at the curriculum level be considered. Furthermore, there should be more effective and explicit stimulation for the use of available human resources – in particular foreign students on campus and visiting foreign faculty – in order to internationalise the curriculum.

7. Renewed and enhanced emphasis on higher education – industry co-operation

Co-operation between higher education and industry is a standing item on the agenda of higher education policy in all countries. It needs also to be discussed in the context of internationalisation policies. A couple of decades ago the problem was merely one of providing industry with skilled staff for export markets. Thus, a number of programmes were designed in order to meet demands for a combination of economic and linguistic competence. Since then there has been a rapid development in the environment in which enterprises – even small and medium-sized ones – operate. The globalisation of economies and European integration are two important factors. Others include the increased multicultural dimension of all modern societies.

The relation between industry and higher education with regard to internationalisation is, however, not just a matter of industry as the receiving end of the educational process. People employed in various kinds of

enterprises could themselves play an important role in an internationalised education by giving a feed-back from their experience in working in an international environment. Universities would surely benefit from using the competence of those who have in a very concrete way encountered the problems of cultural confrontation. This entails that the interface between higher education and industry in this respect is not just one confined to economic subjects. On the contrary, it affects a wide range of academic disciplines.

At present, in many cases higher education – industry co-operation seems to be lacking, has disappeared or is at least underrepresented on the national agendas for internationalisation of higher education. Of course, much is being undertaken at the European level, initiated by the European Commission. However, action cannot be completely left to that level. Moreover, specific national and regional concerns and interests require an active involvement from the national level.

8. The need for a vision on the role of ICT in the internationalisation of higher education

Internationalised higher education is not merely training graduates for a post-industrial and service-oriented society and labour market, but more importantly also for what is characterised as an information society. Besides, the limits of physical mobility as a vehicle for internationalisation have probably been reached. Moreover the transnational delivery of higher education is increasingly supported by the use of information and communication technology (ICT), not being hindered by any borders or barriers. These points just summarise very briefly what is a huge area of new, important, and extremely rapid developments that require intensive reflection and consideration both at the policy and the political level. It also implies that more than before, new and private (corporate) actors are entering on the higher education scene. Consequently, a number of countries that have not yet done so, will need to develop a vision on the role of ICT in internationalisation of higher education and on their own position, role and responsibility *vis a vis* new provisions, providers and their customers. Typical issues such as access and quality will need to be considered very carefully in this new context.

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274

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